The Implications for Neighbourhood Social Sustainability of the Governance Process in the Provision of Local Facilities: Case Studies in Aleppo, Syria

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ABSTRACT

Providing local facilities is one of the important aspects of planning sustainable neighbourhoods, while governance process is a key factor for achieving sustainable development.

This research is concerned to establish the relationship between the governance process for the provision of local facilities and neighbourhood social sustainability in Syria. The research adopts a case study approach, choosing three relatively new neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria as case studies for their distinctive characteristics, and applies two analytical frameworks to examine the impact of local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level as a process and as an outcome.

The governance process for providing local facilities is analysed, focusing on actors, roles, relationships, rules, resources and rationalities. The impact of this provision on neighbourhood social sustainability is analysed, focusing on accessibility, travel mode, social interaction, safety and security, and sense of place.

On the one hand, findings from the research reveal poor implementation of local facilities, which turn out quite different from what is specified in plans. The status of local facilities is due mainly to the governance processes for providing them being hampered by many challenges. These include the state continually attempting to control the provision process yet failing to deliver adequately, and the weak formal participation of the market and civil society in the governance process. On the other hand, the findings also reveal the limited potential of the local facilities provided to enhance social sustainability at the neighbourhood level in the three case study neighbourhoods which is attributable mainly to their poor provision.

The research thus supports the view of governance process as a key element of sustainable development and specifically of social sustainability. It concludes that improvement of the governance process of delivering local facilities is a must if social sustainability at the neighbourhood level is to be improved.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved family

My husband, Molham and my daughters Hiba and Nour.

My Parents Mouhammad Issam and Nada

My sisters Nour, Joud, Salam, Alia and Amira Jouman

My Parents-in-law Moustafa and Afnan

And my sister-in-law Aman

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOT	Build-Operate-Transfer
CBO	Community Based Organization
CoAM	Company of Aleppo markets
CSOs	Civil society organisations
DSD	Directorate of Service Departments
DoH	Directorate of Health
DoTS	Directorate of Technical Services
DoTA	Directorate of Technical Affairs
DoC	Directorate of Culture
DoE	Directorate of Education
DoSAW	Directorate of Social Affairs and Work
DoA	Directorate of Awqaf and religious affairs
DoG	Directorate of Gardens
DoM	Directorate of Monitoring
GCoT	General Company for Retail
FYP	Five Year Plan
GCEC	General Company for Engineering Studies and Consulting
GCoC	General Company of Communications
GCH	General Company of Housing
GCMH	General Company of Military Housing
GoD	Governorate of Aleppo
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
JKN	Jami'yat alKahruba wa alNakel
JKE	Jami'yat alKahruba wa alElectrone
JTA	Jami'yat alTa'aleem alAali

JM	Jami'yat al Muhandiseen
LoC	Library of Congress
MAM	Municipal Administration Modernisation
MoC	Ministry of Culture
MoE	Ministry of Education
MHC	Ministry Housing and Construction
MHU	Ministry of Housing and Utilities
MLAE	Ministry of Local Administration
MoA	Ministry of Awqaf (Religious Endowments)
MoSAL	Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour
MoSEA	Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs
NC	Neighbourhood Committee
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RC	Residents Committee
RCC	Religious Centres Committees
RTC:	Regional Technical Committee
SD	Service Department
SPC	State Planning Commission
UC	Urban Committee
UDP	Programme for Sustainable Urban Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UPD	Urban Planning Directorate
UoW	Union of Women

UoPh	Union of Pharmacists
WU	Workers' Union
WB	World Bank

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

Sustainable development is an issue that has been burgeoning over the last two decades. The concept of sustainable development, combining social, economic and environmental aspects of development, has appeared as a new development paradigm. Different approaches to sustainable development gave different priority to the three main aspects. (Colantonio 2007, Carson 1962). This research is focused on social sustainability in the built environment, particularly, at the neighbourhood level.

In the built environment sector sustainable development may be achieved at many levels: the global level, the country level, the city level, the neighbourhood level and the individual building level. Sustainability at the neighbourhood level is considered to be of great importance: "no single city can contribute to overall sustainability if its own component parts are found not to be sustainable" (Choguill 2008). The neighbourhood is the scale at which land development takes place and new buildings and facilities are 'proposed, debated, and constructed' (Sharifi and Murayama 2013).In recent years, the concept of sustainable residential neighbourhoods has been studied by many authors, mainly in developed countries, and many aspects have been seen to contribute to economic, social and environmental sustainability at the neighbourhood level. Criteria for sustainable neighbourhoods have been developed by many authors and organizations, including the provision of accessible local facilities. Successful communities were claimed to require a full range of local services and facilities which need to be conveniently sited and connected to residential areas by safe and comfortable routes (Llewelyn-Davies 2007).

Many researches were carried out in both developed and developing countries which focused on sustainability at the neighbourhood and considered the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability. However, the majority of these researches have addressed local facilities as part of mixed use neighbourhoods in general. Some have focused on local facilities as a component of compact form. Other studies have focused on benefits of some of the facilities, individually, to promoting sustainability at the

neighbourhood level. Moreover, most of these researches have studied the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability as a product but not as a process.

Along with the argument discussed above, there is also an important argument about the practical issue of how to achieve sustainable development. There is a fundamental aspect of sustainable development not only as a product, but also as a process of achieving the goals of sustainable development (for example Brundtland 1987, Agenda 21 1992). Governance was seen as a main component of sustainable development. "Sustainability as the principle, good urban governance as the practice, become the twin aspects of good urban development" (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000 p 164). Reaching sustainable development entails various strategies, including collaborative governance (Kim 2010)[1] and establishment of partnership among and within the three main sectors: the state, the market and the civil society (Jenkins and Smith 2001, Tas *et al* 2009, Healey 2006, Mandeli 2010).

Upon the above discussion, this research is focused on examining the contribution of the provision of local facilities to social sustainability at the neighbourhood level as both a product and a process. This research, thus, examines the implication of the urban governance process over providing local facilities in residential neighbourhoods and the impact of this on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level through examining three case study neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria.

1.1.1 Research focus

Syria is no stranger to the argument mentioned above, It has achieved rapid urban growth since the 1970s accompanied by a fast pace of urbanization. Population increased from 8,000,000 in 1971 to more than 20,000,000 in 2009. Most of the population (around 70%) was living in the big Syrian cities. Even though living quality in urban areas was seen to be better than rural areas, Syrian cities have experienced severe problems, with strengths that were under threat and weaknesses that needed to be overcome (MLAE 2009). To cope with these problems, Syria, since 2002, began gradually to take steps towards the

[1] Citing Wheeler, 2004; Berke, 2002; Jepson, 2001; Innes and Booher 1999; Selman 1996; McDonald 1996; Shaw and Kidd 1996)

achievement of the goals of sustainable development. A national strategy for sustainable development report was issued in 2002 which was mainly focused on environmental issues. In 2006 the tenth Five-year plan (FYP) focused on promoting sustainable development. The Ministry of Local Administration (MLAE) and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) were also working on developing a sustainable urban development agenda to formulate strategies to encourage sustainable urban development of Syria cities. Along with the pursuit of sustainable development, and in order to face challenges such as globalization, decentralization, technological development and the growth of civil society, Syria also has been taking some steps towards decentralization since 2003. The agenda for sustainable development by the United Nations for Syria stressed the need for improving governance and setting standards for sustainable development. At the same time, the need for governance reform in urban governance has emerged with the national and international organizations (for example Municipal Administration Modernisation (MAM) and GTZ). Moreover, to respond to the urban growth and to cope with the increase in population, new master plans were being prepared for most of the big Syrian cities, accompanied by new planning standards and detailed plans. The draft of the new plans had referred to sustainable urban development and sustainable neighbourhood; however, there was no clear strategy for achieving sustainability at the neighbourhood level. Aleppo, which is the second most important city in Syria, and the largest city in terms of population, has been highly influenced by the ongoing changes. Since 1997 a new master plan was being prepared to improve the existing city of Aleppo and to expand it to double the area. In 2010 the master plan and its detailed plans were still undergoing revisions and were not yet applied due to many reasons. The start of the unrest in March 2011, shortly after the second and final field work, had a great impact on the implementation of urban development plans.

This research, thus, initially aimed to examine the impact of the local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level as a process and as an outcome in order to develop recommendations to improve the provision of the local facilities in the existing neighbourhood as well as future neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria.

1.1.2 Research process

The focus of the research mentioned above and the final product of the PhD research was influenced by the processes and circumstances that surrounded its undertaking. The research focus arose initially from the researcher interest in the application of the concept of sustainable urban development in residential neighbourhoods in Syria, which was then narrowed down to particular focus on the contribution of local facilities to social sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

However, during the first field trip, the researcher looked at the general situation of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo, and specifically on an initial sample of eight potential case study neighbourhoods. The analysing of the eight potential case studies, along with the initial interviews with professionals, officials and members of the public showed a great difference between planned local facilities and existing ones, which at the same time was subject to continuous changes. In addition, it showed difference between basic standards of local facilities, implemented facilities and people's needs. At the same time, the 2004 Master plan and its detailed plan was undertaking modification and was still awaiting approval before implementation, despite that the project have been initiated since 1997. Meanwhile some informal industrial activities were invading some of the areas designated as residential zones in the new Master plan.

In this context[2], the researcher reached the conclusion that the impact of local facilities on sustainability cannot be examined mainly as a product and that governance process over planning and implementing these facilities should be given a higher importance in the research. Thus, the profound analysis of the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability was to be addressed not only as a product but also as a process. This shift in focused then informed the approach taken in the second field trip and through the rest of the research process. The final focus of the research was concerned with examining the implication of governance process over providing local facilities for neighbourhood's social sustainability.

[2] where basic standards for local facilities were not enforced while great numbers of unplanned local facilities were implemented, and where projects of new Master and detailed plans were awaiting former approval, let alone implementation, after 13 years from the start of the project.

1.2 Research aim, objectives and questions

The main aim of the research is to undertake an in-depth analysis of the contribution of local facilities to social sustainability as an outcome and as a process, in order to draw conclusions about the viability and potential of attempts to improve social sustainability in relation to local facilities, with particular emphasis on improving the governance process over the provision of these facilities in the case of Syria.

To achieve that aim the research has 6 key objectives. In order to meet each objective, a key question has been formulated, which is subdivided into a series of further sub-questions.

1.2.1 Objective 1

To explore the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability and to develop an *analytical framework to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability* .

Question 1

How can local facilities contribute to neighbourhood social sustainability? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability?

Sub questions:

- *What have been the main theories and approaches towards sustainable development?*
- *What is the meaning of urban social sustainability?*
- *What are the key principles of sustainable neighbourhood?*
- *What is the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood social sustainability?*
- *What analytical framework can be proposed to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability?*

1.2.2 Objective 2

To explore the recent urban governance theories and practices of the provision of neighbourhood local facilities and develop an analytical framework for analyzing the governance process of the provision of local facilities.

Question 2

What have been the recent theories and approaches towards the implications of the governance process for sustainable urban development and service delivery? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse the governance process of the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods?

- *What are the meanings of governance? And what are the current governance theories in relation to urban development?*
- *What is the relationship between governance and sustainable development and service delivery?*
- *What are the current approaches to understanding and analysing urban governance processes?*
- *What can constitute a framework to analyse the governance process of delivering local facilities?*

1.2.3 Objective 3

To explore the theory and practice of the governance process of delivering urban development of residential neighbourhoods in Syria with a focus on the provision of local facilities.

Question 3

What is the current governance process that produces the local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo?

- *What is the political-economic context of Syria in relation to urban development and provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods?*

- *Who are the actors involved in the provision process? What are the roles of these actors? And what are the relationships among them?*
- *What are the rules controlling the process? What resources flow in this process? And what are the rationalities that dominate the process?*

1.2.4 Objective 4:

To evaluate the impact on social sustainability of the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria.

Question 4

How are local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria influencing social sustainability at the neighbourhood level?

- *What is the current situation of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria?*
- *How are these facilities contributing to achieving objectives of social sustainability, in relation to local facilities, within residential neighbourhoods: accessibility, travel mode, social interaction, safety and security and sense of place?*

1.2.5 Objective 5

To analyse the relationship between the governance process of providing local facilities and social sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

Question 5

How is the governance process of delivering local facilities contributing to neighbourhoods' social sustainability in Syria?

1.2.6 Objective 6

To identify recommendations that could be made to achieve changes in the governance of delivering local facilities in residential neighbourhoods with a view to improving the impact of these facilities on sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

Question 6

How can the governance process of delivering local facilities be improved? What obstacles should be overcome and how? What potentials are there and how can these be strengthened?

1.3 Research methodology

The research as a whole takes a qualitative approach focusing on two main aspects: first, understanding the governance process over delivering local facilities which is analysed mainly on the basis of qualitative data. Second, exploring the impact of this provision on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level, based mainly on residents' perception that is analysed on the basis of qualitative data; however, material outcomes are looked at in quantifiable terms.

Examining the relationship between social sustainability at the neighbourhood level and governance needs an understanding of contemporary phenomena and real-life events.The researcher, thus, believed that the case study approach is suitable for the purpose of this research as Yin (2003) argued that a case study methodology is appropriate to answer research questions where the research deals with a contemporary set of events which researchers have no control over. The case study approach in this research is used at different levels, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Data are collected from sources with more qualitative characteristics. These sources are: literature review and documentary analysis, direct and participant observation, physical surveys, and in-depth, structured and semi-structured interviews.

A detailed description of the methodology is given in chapter 3. This section provides a summary of the methodology and methods used to achieve the research objectives:

To address objectives 1 and 2, a combination of academic and professional literature review was undertaken which permitted the development of two analytical frameworks to be used through the research for meeting objectives 3 and 4.

To address objectives 3 and 4, three residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria were used as case studies. A physical survey was undertaken of the conditions of local facilities within the case study neighbourhoods. The main method for analysing the political-economic context and planning system of Syria was through undertaking specific literature review (including grey literature). This literature was also supported by interviews with key stakeholders. The methods of inquiry into the process of providing local facilities were through in-depth and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders.

For objective 4, to carry out the analysis of the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability, the analytical framework developed from the literature on the possible impact of local facilities on sustainability was applied, and data were collected mainly from interviews with residents.

To address objective 5, the findings from the analysis of governance process and the impact of these on social sustainability were drawn together and analysed.

To address the final objective (6), the understanding obtained from analysis of the implication of governance process and its impact on local facilities is integrated with the literature review in order to discuss potentials for Aleppo to improve social sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis explores issues raised in this introductory chapter. Drawing on a review of the relevant literature, it begins by exploring concepts of sustainable development and urban governance and identifies the importance of local facilities to social sustainability at the neighbourhood level and the elements of governance process. It then explores the relationship between the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability and the governance process for providing local facilities, through examining the three case

study neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria. The thesis concludes with discussion of the research findings and suggestions for improvement in practice and for further research.

This thesis is structured in a sequence of nine chapters.

Chapter one provides the introduction to the research topics, sets out the research aim, objectives and questions, the methodology and the structure of the thesis.

Chapters two and three present the literature review. Chapter two provides a review of the literature on meanings and definitions of sustainable development and sustainable neighbourhoods and explores the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability. Chapter three provides a review of meanings and definitions of urban governance, modes applied in urban governance and different approaches to analyse the governance process over urban development. Each chapter concluded with developing a framework, the first is for evaluating the impact of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability and the second is for analysing governance process over delivering local facilities to be used throughout the research.

Chapter four introduces the methodological approach employed in addressing the research questions. The chapter starts with discussing research approaches, methodologies and methods in general and then moved to describe the actual methods that have been used in this research.

Chapter five presents an outline of governance for urban development in Syria. It starts with discussing the political-economy context of Syria within which the process is taking place, followed by discussing elements of the governance process over urban development in general and over provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo in particular.

Chapter six contains the analysis of governance process over delivering local facilities in the three case study neighbourhoods. The first part of chapter five provides an introduction to each of the case study neighbourhoods followed by an in-depth analysis of these case studies. The second part of chapter five presented conclusion drawn from each case study and a comparison of governance process over providing facilities among the three case study neighbourhoods.

Chapter seven provides the analysis of the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood's social sustainability carried out of the three case study neighbourhoods.

Chapter eight links the two aspects of governance process over delivering local facilities and the impact of these on social sustainability in the three case study neighbourhoods together and explore the relationship between them.

Chapter nine addresses the key research questions and summarise the main research findings, It makes recommendations for the improvement of impact of the provision of local facilities on social sustainability focused on the governance processes around these, and identifies opportunities for further research.

Research Objectives	Research questions	Research methods	Chapter 1	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Chapter 5	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8	Chapter 9
1.To explore the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability,	*2. How can local facilities contribute to neighbourhood sustainability? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability?*	Literature review& analysis									
2. To explore the recent urban governance theories and practices of the provision of neighbourhood's local facilities and develop an analytical framework for analyzing the governance process of the provision of local facilities.	*2. What have been the recent theories and approaches towards the implication of governance process to sustainable urban development and service delivery? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse governance process over the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods?*	Literature review& analysis									
3. To explore the theory and practice of governance process over delivering urban development of residential neighbourhoods in Syria with a focus on the *provision* of local facilities.	*3. What is the current governance process that produces the local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo?*	Literature review including grey literature Observation and Physical survey In depth and semi structured interviews									

4. To evaluate the impact of the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria on social sustainability.	*4. How are local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria influencing social sustainability at the neighbourhood level?*	Observation and Physical survey In depth and semi structured interviews									
5.To establish what are the strength and limitation of the governance process and their impact (outcome) on social sustainability	*5. What are the strength and limitation of governance process? And how have the impact of local facilities on social sustainability been affected by this governance process?*	Analysis									
6. To identify recommendations that could be made to achieve changes in the governance over delivering local facilities in residential neighbourhoods with the view of improving the impact of these facilities on sustainability at the neighbourhood level.	*6. How can governance process over delivering local facilities be improved? What obstacles should be overcome and how? What potentials are there and how can these be strengthened?*	Analysis									

Table 1.1 Thesis structure.

Chapter 2 The Implications of Local Facilities for Neighbourhood Social Sustainability

2.1 Introduction

The main aims of the literature review are to review the literature on two concepts, neighbourhood social sustainability and urban governance, and the review is divided into two parts. The first part is presented in this chapter and is concerned with sustainability. It provides a review of the literature on meanings and definitions of sustainable development and sustainable neighbourhoods and explores the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability. It ends with a conclusion which summarises the main points emerging from the literature and helps to develop a framework for evaluating the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability.

The second part of the review is presented in the next chapter and is concerned with the concept of urban governance and how it contributes to sustainable urban development. It provides a review of meanings and definitions of urban governance as well as of different modes of governance. It then explores different approaches to analysing the governance process for urban development which led to developing a framework for analysing governance process for delivering local facilities. The two frameworks help to evaluate the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability and to understand the latter as a product of governance process for the provision process.

2.2 The origin and meaning of the sustainable development concept

In the past the perspective of development focused on economic growth, which meant exploitation of natural resources to achieve economic growth (Redclift 1987). However, this concept started to change in the 1950s and 1960s as the increasing material flows in the economies that maintained economic growth raised questioned about sustainability of these resources (Reid 1995). Meadows *et al* (1972) in their report *The Limits to Growth* presented challenging scenarios and concluded that continued growth might result in exceeding the available resources and collapse of the economic system (Turner 2007). At

the same time, the 1972 United Nations conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm highlighted environmental concerns about the results of human activities exceeding the earth's capacity (Friedman 2007, Basiago 1995). The Stockholm conference was the first major international attempt to draw attention to the environmental risks and resulted in the establishment of a number of international organizations which aim to raise the awareness of the environment and call for actions to limit damage to it (Friedman 2007). Later on in 1980 the term 'sustainable development' was introduced for the first time in the publication of the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) (Osborn and Trzyna 1995).

Shortly after, the environmental and social aspects gained more importance especially with the releasing of the Brundtland report (World Commission on Environment and Development [WCED] 1987) which stressed the importance of environmental quality, economy, and equity aspects and the importance of the link between them; following this report the term sustainable development became widely acknowledged (Redclift 1987). The Brundtland report made a significant point in highlighting the concept of sustainable development and stressed that the future effects of development must be considered in order to achieve sustainability (Friedman 2007).

The understanding of development linking the three main components of economic, environmental and social aspects together became core of the concept of sustainable development. In 1991 the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) argued that sustainable development can be achieved when the quality of human life is improved while the capacity of the ecosystem is maintained (IUCN 1991). The concept was elaborated in a much more detailed global action plan in *Agenda 21* (Moldan *et al* 2012). *Agenda 21* was adopted by 150 countries at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. It identified 4 goals to achieve sustainable development in the twenty first century as: firstly, reducing the use of energy and raw materials; secondly, reducing the production of waste and pollution; thirdly, protecting the ecosystem and finally, sharing wealth and promoting equal opportunities (Friedman 2007). The World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in 2002, again revisited the definition of the concept of sustainable

development based on the three pillars – social, environmental, economic – which were symbolized as "People, Planet, Prosperity" (Moldan *et al* 2012).

As stated above the Brundtland report in 1987 formed a 'benchmark' in defining the concept of sustainable development; the Brundtland definition of sustainable development that was often-quoted (Moldan 2012): "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987 p43). However, following the Brundtland report the concept of development was defined by many authors addressing the three main aspects (e.g. Barton *et al* 1995, Pearce *et al* 1989). At the same time, the term 'sustainable development' became a contested concept that came to mean several things to different scholars which was shaped by the different views of peoples and organizations (Giddings *et al* 2002).The definitions given to sustainable development were not identical, even though they mainly shared the same basis (Udo and Jansson 2009). Many authors have reviewed a wide range of sustainable development definitions (for example Pearce *et al* 1989, Osborn and Trzyna 1995, Murcott 1997). All in all, the concept of sustainable development became a 'multidimensional' or 'fuzzy' concept (Briassouli 2001, Moldan *et al* 2012, Palmer *et al* 1997).

Later on, the idea of sustainable development evolved to more precise specifications (Moldan *et al* 2012). A wide agreement was reached that sustainable development is based upon and is an intersection between the three main pillars -environment, society and economy. These pillars are "separate although connected entities. They are fractured and multi-layered and can be considered at different spatial levels but at the same time they are dependent on and within each other" (Giddings *et al* 2002 p 1). Sustainable development can be conceptualized as the 'dynamic equilibrium' between human needs for development and environmental and economic cost of this development (Briassouli 2001).

2.3 Different approaches to sustainability

2.3.1 The main pillars of sustainable development and their evolution

This section explores the three main pillars of sustainable development, the economic, the environmental and the social. It also discusses other pillars of sustainable development introduced by different authors.

The economic pillar

While the goal of sustainable development is to meet the needs and improve living standards and the quality of life for the present and future generations, economists focus on various needs that need to be met: man-made, natural, human, social (Moldan *et al* 2012, Kim 2000). Economic sustainability require a balance between the cost and the benefit of the development, however, the social cost and environmental benefits are not easy to measure (Osborn and Trzyna 1995).

Moldan *et al* (2012) introduces different approaches to understanding economic sustainability introduced by different authors. The first focuses on physical aspects of sustainable development based on the understanding of Goodland and Ledec (1987) of sustainable development as: first, using renewable natural resources in a way that does not damage them or decrease their usefulness for future generations, second, using non-renewable mineral resources in a way that does not reduce access to them by future generations and, third, slow-pace depletion of non-renewable energy resources in a way that safeguards a transition to renewable ones. The second approach to understand economic sustainability focuses on 'optimal resource management'. This approach was adopted by Markandya and Pearce (1987), who understand sustainable development as a means of ensuring equal access to resources for present and future generations, therefore using resources today in a way that does not reduce the real incomes of future generations. Similarly, Hamrin (1983) argued that economic activities depend on the maintenance and sustainability of natural resources and the environment, and that economic growth therefore depends on best management of these resources (Moldan *et al* 2012).

The importance of the economic dimension of sustainability has also been stressed at policy level. DETR (2001) expressed economic sustainability as all people being able to

enjoy high living standards along with appropriate job opportunities, which highlights the need to provide skills and education to people who are the work force along with strong businesses and infrastructure.

However, as discussed earlier, the economic aspect of sustainable development is closely related to environmental and social aspects. While the economy depends on the sustainable use of renewable resources, excessive use of these resources to gain short-term benefits may degrade the long-term economic benefits. At the same time, the economic aspects are influenced by the social aspect, as for example potential economic growth might be affected by insufficient investment in education (DEP 2002). The recent economic crisis appears to show that there has been imbalance between sustainability and the economic growth, therefore, the challenges are to approach economic growth in new ways that consider a new economy in terms of sustainable development (Moldan *et al* 2012).

The environmental pillar

The concern about the importance of the environment is not new, for example Carson (1962) directed attention to the fact that environmental damage is being caused by man-made chemicals. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) 1981 World Conservation Strategy made a significant shift in attitudes towards environmental issues as it argued that the conservation of living resources is inevitable for sustainable development. Moldan *et al* (2012) expressed that scientists at the World Bank in 1992 first used the term 'environmentally responsible development' before the term "environmentally sustainable development" was then introduced. Afterwards, the concept of environmental sustainability was developed and many authors and organisations provided definitions and indicators of environmental sustainability (Moldan 2012 citing Goodland 1995, Serageldin and Streeter 1993).

Goodland (1995, p10) defined environmental sustainability as "the use of renewable and non-renewable resources on the source side, and pollution and waste assimilation on the sink side". Kibert (1999) questioned whether today's available natural systems and resources can meet the varied demands of rich and poor people while leaving adequate resources and better quality of the environment for future generations. He expressed that

sustainability today relies on the '3Rs' (reduce-reuse-recycle) and questioned whether this goal is attainable. He argued that energy and quality would degrade in all systems, despite relying on sustainability principles. However, other scholars argued that this is not necessarily so if technology evolves sufficiently to counteract it. Kibert (1999) identified stages for achieving sustainability as: pollution control, minimizing life cycle impacts, developing technologies in harmony with natural systems.

Rudlin and Falk (1995) identified a number of issues that affect environmental sustainability as: carbon dioxide, ozone depletion, rain forest depletion, car use, the use and disposal of natural resources in manufacturing and transport, recycling, water, ecology, and acid rain. Kim (2000) addressed that environmental sustainability considers the demand for maintaining natural capital. Moldan *et al* (2012) defined environmental sustainability, building on the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Project development of the concept of environmental sustainability[3], as maintaining nature's services at a suitable level considering the connection between these services and human well-being, as concern for goods and services provided by nature means concern for nature itself. For them, environmental sustainability is "a concept based on a notion of ecosystem services that provide benefits to humans and thus improve their welfare" (Moldan *et al* 2012 p 11). Thus, in order to enjoy and use the services through time, humanity must live within the limitations of the 'biophysical environment' (Moldan *et al* 2012).

At the same time, the importance of the environmental dimension of sustainability has also been stressed at policy level (DETR, 1999; 2001).The DETR strategy for environmental sustainability included two main parts. The first is limiting the harm of the environment and the second is careful consumption of resources. Criteria for

[3] The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Project (2005) provides further development of the concept of environmental sustainability despite that the term environmental sustainability was not literally used. The project identified ecosystem services, which are jointly linked to human well-being because it depends on them, in four categories: provisioning (food, freshwater, wood and fibre, fuel, etc.), regulatory (climate regulation, flood regulation, disease regulation, water purification, etc.), cultural (aesthetic, spiritual, educational, recreational, etc.), supporting (nutrient cycling, soil formation, primary production, etc.) (Moldan *et al* 2012)

environmental sustainability were also formulated by some organizations. For example OECD (2001 p 6) defines four specific criteria for environmental sustainability:

- Regeneration (renewable resources shall be used efficiently and their use shall not be permitted to exceed their long-term rates of natural regeneration),
- Substitutability (non-renewable resources shall be used efficiently and their use limited to levels which can be offset by substitution with renewable resources or other forms of capital),
- Assimilation (releases of hazardous or polluting substances into the environment shall not exceed the environment's capacity to assimilate them)
- Avoiding irreversibility, i.e. irreversible adverse effects of human activities on ecosystems.

Finally, as with the economic aspect, environmental concerns are related to the other aspects of sustainability. For example poverty would have an impact on the environment as poor people might cut down trees to obtain fuel wood, or might contaminate urban water supplies with waste they cannot afford to treat. On the other hand, environmental concerns are also affected by social issues. For example, a rapidly growing population might put pressure on the natural resources of the country and on its ability to provide services. Thus, it is of great importance to achieve development that includes values of environmental sustainability, while at the same time increasing economic growth and providing adequate social services (DEP 2002).

The social pillar

Debates within the wider sustainable development literature have moved beyond considering sustainability as environmental or economic concerns to include the social concern. The social aspect is the third pillar of sustainable development and is probably the most important and critical for the long-term survival of human civilizations (Diamond 2005 in Moldan *et al* 2012) and the most important component of national wealth (World Bank 2006 in Moldan *et al* 2012). Similarly, a considerable number of authors expressed the social dimension as an important component of sustainable development.

In general the social sustainability considers the demand to respond to the social needs of the community (Friedman 2007). Polese and Stren (2000) provided a definition of social

sustainability focused on the collective functioning of society as well as individual quality-of-life issues : "development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population" (Polese and Stern 2000 p 15-16). Similar views were expressed by Gilbert *et al* (1996) as "Social sustainability requires that the cohesion of society and its ability to work towards common goals be maintained. Individual needs, such as those of health and well-being, nutrition, shelter, education and cultural expression should be met" (Gilbert *at al* 1996).

In general the definitions of social sustainability can be seen as statements of the general goals of social policy rather than as specific definitions of social sustainability (Colantonio 2007). Moldan *et al* (2012 p 5) said that "it is not yet fully clear what the critical elements of social unsustainability are: Is it growing, or at least not diminishing, inequality among people, regions or nations, health in a broad sense, or the malfunctioning of national institutions?"

Colantonio (2011) differentiated between traditional and emerging aspects of social sustainability. He explained that traditional concepts of social sustainability are being 'complemented' by new emerging concepts that are harder to measure and usually requires more qualitative approaches than traditional ones.

Traditional	Emerging
• Basic needs including housing and environmental health • Education and skills • Employment • Equity • Human rights and gender • Poverty • Social justice	• Demographic change (aging, immigration and mobility • Social mixing and cohesion • Identity, sense of place and culture • Empowerment, participation and access • Health and safety • Social capital • Wellbeing, happiness and quality of life

Table 2.1 Traditional and emerging social sustainability key themes.
Source: Colantonio (2011 p 40).

However, as with the other aspects of sustainability the social concerns are related to the other two aspects (economic and environmental ones). Poor services in terms of health care, education and family planning are usually linked with poor income, consequently low income people would be less able to meet their basic needs, and thus be likely to continue living in a cycle of poverty. Similarly, poor environmental conditions like polluted air and water would result in more health problems and thus put more pressure on the health care system (DEP 2002).

Thus, it is vital to understand the social aspect with combination of understanding the other two aspects in order to reach a balance between the social needs and both economic growth and environmental protection. However, as economic, social and cultural conditions widely differ among the different countries, it is hard to reach consensus of the meaning of social sustainability (Moldan *et al* 2012).

2.3.2 Other pillars of sustainable development

The above review showed that the concept of sustainable development has mostly been broken out into three constituent parts: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability. However, other pillars of sustainable development were also introduced.

The institutional pillar concerned with governance process has been addressed by several scholars: Sharifi and Murayama (2013a) cited the following references: Valentin and Spangenberg (2000); Parris and Kates (2003); and Wijngaarden (2001). They all emphasize the importance of integrating the institutional dimension, thus, for them sustainability is considered to have four pillars. According to Spangenberg (2002), the institutional dimension complements the three other dimensions, as well as facilitating the linkages between them. For Sharifi and Murayama (2013a p77) the institutional dimension is "not only the interactions between the governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in the decision making, but also a set of norms, laws, and regulations governing these interactions".

Similarly (Udo and Jansson 2009) conceptualized sustainable development in terms of social-economy, polity, and culture; technological (knowledge, infrastructure, and

institutions); and environmental (air, land, and water ecology). For them sustainable development is the paradigm of social, technological, and environmental progress that enables 'intra- and intergenerational equity' through sound governance and infrastructure management.

Moreover, the Joslyn Institute for Sustainable Communities (JISC 1996) developed an 'evidentiary' model showing five dimensions of sustainable development: environmental (natural and man-built); socio-cultural (human history, conditions, and contexts); technological (appropriate, sustainable); economics (the production of goods and services within a sustainable context and the financial resources to support production, trade, operations, and maintenance); and public policy (government, or public rules/regulations that will support or enhance sustainability).

Mitchell *et al* (1995) established The PICABUE approach which is a work frame to understand the criteria of sustainable development and to evaluate the extent to which it is been applied. This approach identified four aspects, environment, futurity, public participation, and equity. In this approach: environment means that the development must not have negative effect on the ecosystem; futurity means the concern of the future generations; public participation considers the importance of people's role in taking decisions that affect them; and equity considers today's poor and disadvantaged, thus, considers the disproportionate consumption of resources in developed countries. This approach was also highlighted in other studies (e.g. Palmer *et al* 1997).

All in all, several concepts and approaches have been used in the sustainability discourse and the majority of the literature on sustainable development seems to acknowledge that an appropriate treatment of the issue requires covering social, economic, environmental and technological issues. However, because criticism of the complexity and fuzziness of the definitions of sustainability, two other alternative approaches to interpreting the term have been proposed.

2.3.3 Weak and strong sustainability

As discussed earlier, the goal of sustainable development is to improve living standards and the quality of people's lives, both now and for future generations. While most of

approaches to achieving sustainable development concerned different dimensions of sustainable development, there are two broad approaches supported by researchers as to how to preserve the resources for future generations where supporter of each approach favour divergent paradigms in their treatment of how resources should and can be preserved for future generations. The two approaches are the strong and weak sustainability approaches.

Weak sustainability means that well-being should be guaranteed in the long term and that the three capitals: the natural (natural resources, air, water, etc.), the human (education, skills, stock of knowledge) and the man-made (buildings, roads, etc.) should sustain each other (Kim 2000). Advocates of weak sustainability believe that the loss in of natural resources can always be replaced by man-made capital through technological advance which ensures the continuity of economic growth (Udo and Jansson 2009, Kratena and Streicher 2012).

Strong sustainability, on the other hand, maintains that we should limit the use of non-renewable resources as those economic, social and environmental capitals might not sustain each other. Thus, it is of great importance to sustain the natural capital at least (Kim 2000). Strong' sustainability means that the environment cannot be substituted by technology and thus there will be limiting growth in material utilization and economic expansion (Kratena and Streicher 2012). Supporters of strong sustainability, thus believe that technology and replacement from other resources will not be able to sustaina the environmnet (Udo and Jansson 2009).

In general, weak and strong sustainability advocates differ in their approaches in terms of society's and technology's ability to directly affect the outcomes of economic expansion. Supporters of weak sustainability see that economic expansion may actually lead to higher sustainable development capacity; in contrast, supporters of strong sustainability see that the only way to limit the negative impacts of economic growth will be through limiting the consumption of material and energy (Udo and Jansson 2009).

2.3.4 Contested concepts of sustainable development

Connelly (2007) proposed a map to combine the different approaches to sustainable development. He mapped sustainable development in a continuous triangular field where any attempt to achieve sustainable development can be located based on the emphasis it gives to the three main aspects of sustainability. The corners of the triangle represent the extreme position emphasising one aspect without considering the other two. Sustainable development is located in the centre of this field. Positions located within the boundaries of sustainable development towards one of these corners (e.g., environmental protection) are those which prioritise the aspect positioned on this corner (e.g. the need to achieve protect the environment), but at the same time recognise the importance of achieving the other two aspects (e.g. social equity and economic growth). However, moving away from the centre closer to the corner means more emphasis of the aspect addressed in the corner and less emphasis on the other two aspects. Moving closer to the corner outside the boundaries of sustainable development means rejecting the concept of sustainable development and prioritising the aspect addressed on one corner while considering that emphasis giving to the other two aspects could be damaging to achieving the aspect addressed on that corner. Closer to the corners are positions which are outside the boundaries of sustainable development.

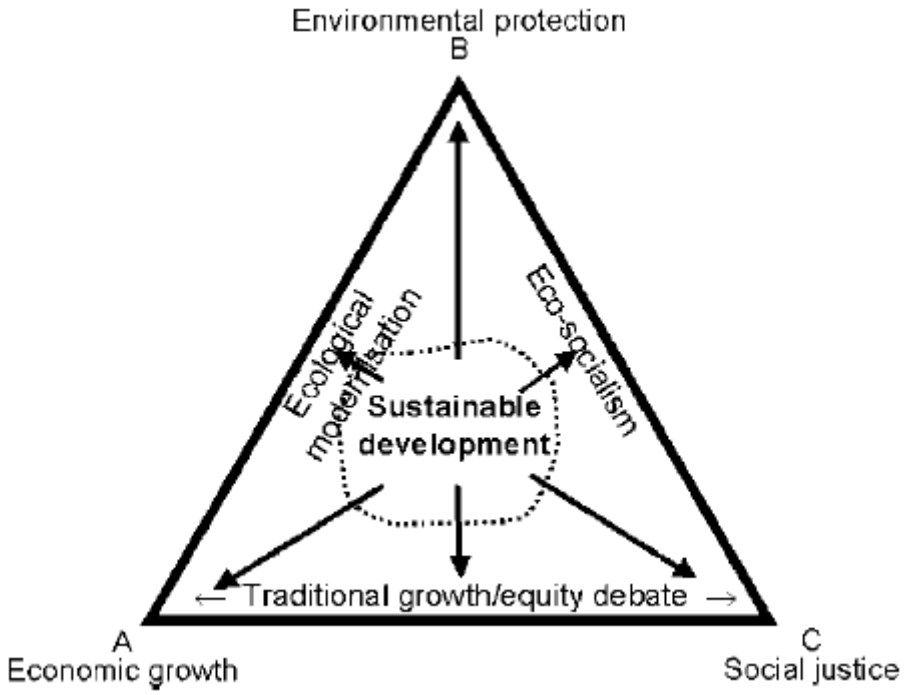

Figure 2.1 Sustainable development mapped in the field of solutions to the environment and development problem
Source: Connelly (2007 p 270)

However, despite the differences between the above approaches, there is a consensus that some quantity of natural resources should be maintained for the future generation. Recently there has been a growing case that despite that economic expansions often result in more pollution, negative impact of their growth will be limited as expansions pass a certain level of development (Udo and Jansson 2009). In this respect another important difference can be drawn between developed and developing countries in their approach to achieve sustainable development.

2.4 Brown and Green Agenda

An inverted 'U-shaped' relationship is suggested as economic growth will result in more pollution when it starts but the pollution will be limited once these economies reached a certain level of development (Udo and Jansson 2009). However, it is important to distinguish between the different approaches to achieve sustainable development adopted by developed and developing countries. Schumacher (1974) referred to the difference between the developed and developing countries in his book *Small Is Beautiful: economy as if people mattered*. Udo and Jansson (2009 p 3701) stated that "for developed

countries, sustainable development seems to mean environmental sustainability with steady economic growth (WCED 1987), while for the developing countries, it seems to mean sustained economic growth with environmental consideration (UNDP 2000)". This different approach towards sustainability between the developed and developing countries was highlighted in the UNCED summit (1991) when a disagreement between the 'northern and southern' countries was made over the understanding of the term sustainable development and how to achieve it. The 'northern' countries argued that, in order to seek sustainable development, the natural environment globally should be protected and, thus, development which has polluting effects on the environment should be prevented. The 'southern' countries, however, perceived this as a way to stop them from achieving development and quality of life already achieved in the developed countries ((Jenkins *et al* 2007). As a result, two different agendas emerged in order to achieve sustainability. The first one was dubbed the 'brown agenda', which is concerned with urban environmental issues and the second is the green agenda which is concerned with the ecological issues. McGranahan and Satterthwaite (2000) set out the main characteristics of the green and brown agendas. The green agenda (environmental agenda, e.g. the climate change agenda), is mainly concerned with nature particularly sustaining the ecosystem health. The brown agenda, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with the providing basic needs of urban population (food, energy, housing, education or health facilities, and also the quality of life affected by air or water pollution (Khan 2014).

	The 'brown' environmental health agenda	**The 'green' sustainability agenda**
Characteristic features of problems high on the agenda		
Key impact	Human health	Ecosystem health
Timing	Immediate	Delayed
Scale	Local	Regional and global
Worst affected	Lower income groups	Future generations
Characteristic attitude to		
Nature	Manipulate to serve human needs	Protect and work with
People	Work with	Educate
Environmental services	Provide more	Use less
Aspects emphasized in relation to		
Water	Inadequate access and poor quality	Overuse; need to protect water resources
Air	High human exposure to hazardous pollutants	Acid precipitation and greenhouse emissions
Solid waste	Inadequate provision for collection and removal	Excessive generation
Land	Inadequate access of low income groups to housing	Loss of natural habitats and agricultural land to urban development
Human wastes	Inadequate access for safely removing faecal materials and waste water from living environment	Loss of nutrients in sewage and damage to water bodies from the release of sewage into waterways
Typical proponent	Urbanist	environmentalist

Table 2.2 The main characters of Brown and Green agendas for sustainable development

Source: McGranahan and Satterthwaite 2000: quoted in Jenkins, *et al* (2007)

Jenkins *et al* (2007) expressed that, despite the differences between the two agendas, the two agendas overlap as issues from one agenda might have great influences on issues from the other.

However, the two agendas are affected by the different socio-economic and political processes surrounding them which also affect the strategies of planning and implementing these agendas (Khan 2014). Khan (2014) argued that the two agendas cannot easily be presented at the same time due to the different conditions between developed and developing countries and also within the same countries. Pugh (2000) addressed that the more the national income is, the more the environmental priority is highlighted in the country's agenda for achieving sustainability. He also expressed that the two agendas can coexist together but priorities will differ according to people's income level.

2.5 Social sustainability and urban development

The above review provided a discussion of meanings and definitions of sustainable development, and explored the various views to understand sustainable development based on giving different consideration to the different pillars and also between developed and developing countries. From the above review it became clear that the concept of sustainability is vague and broad (Friedman 2007) as the multiple aspects of the term sustainability makes it difficult to reach a clear definition. The review also showed that approaching sustainable development will require considering all the different dimensions and not only part of them as these dimensions overlap and influence each other. It was also suggested that social sustainability is an important dimension of sustainable development though it was given less attention than the other aspects. However, in a developing country like Syria, where the brown agenda is more vital, social sustainability becomes a very important issue.

Urban development has a great impact on achieving sustainability in general and social sustainability in particular. Cities have a prominent role in achieving sustainable development due to growing urban population (Darlow 1996 in Dempsey *et al* 2011). This concept is very important in context of developing countries like Syria which was witnessing a high level of urbanization.

However, there are many different approaches to the social dimension of urban sustainable development, with only a little agreement on what are the main components of social sustainability (Bramley and Power 2009). Many authors have provided definitions of social sustainability in relation to the built environment aspect. Hemphil *et al* (2004) expressed that social sustainability is about improving the quality of life of the people (access to open space; leisure facilities; retail, education; entertainment; culture; affordable housing; sense of pride; and ownership and public participation). Yiftachel and Hedgcock (1993, p 140) further defined urban social sustainability as: "the continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development".

Dempsey *et al* (2012) provided a review of the concept of social sustainability. They stated that social sustainability can be defined based on two broad concepts: social equity and sustainability of community (Dempsey *et al* 2011,2012, Bramley and Power 2009). In terms of social equity, in general, this means that resources should be fairly distributed and exclusionary practices should be prevented, so that all residents can participate in the social, economic and political life of their society (Pierson, 2002). In particular, in relation to the built environment, social equity means "paying attention to the nature and extent of accessibility to services and facilities in a given area" (Dempsey *et al* 2012 p94). In terms of sustainability of community, this can be related to the society being capable of 'sustaining and reproducing' itself at an acceptable level of functioning in terms of social organisation, and 'the individual social behaviour being incorporated within the wider social setting' (Dempsey *et al* 2012, based on Coleman, 1985 and on Bramley and Power 2009).

Dempsey *et al* (2012) examined five inter-related dimensions of community which are considered to be related to built environment sustainability: social interaction/social networks in the community; participation in collective groups and networks in the community; community stability; pride/sense of place attachment and safety and security. The Berkeley group (2013) articulated that social sustainability is about people's quality of life, now and in the future. They listed key characteristics of social sustainability based on Dempsey *et al* (2009, 2011) as the following:

Non-physical factors	Predominantly physical factors
• Education and training • Social justice: inter- and intra-generational • Participation and local democracy • Health, quality of life and well-being • Social inclusion (and eradication of social exclusion) • Social capital • Community • Safety • Mixed tenure • Fair distribution of income • Social order • Social cohesion • Community cohesion (i.e. cohesion between and among • different groups) • Social networks • Social interaction • Sense of community and belonging • Employment • Residential stability (vs turnover) • Active community • Organisations • Cultural traditions	• Urbanity • Attractive public realm • Decent housing • Local environmental quality and amenity • Accessibility (e.g. to local services and facilities/ employment/green space) • Sustainable urban design • Neighbourhood • Walkable neighbourhood: pedestrian-friendly

Table 2.3 Urban social sustainability: contributory factors as identified in the review of literature

Source: (Dempsey *et al* 2009, 2011 in Berkeley group 2011 p 15)

The present study focuses particularly at the neighbourhood level, which is considered to be very important in terms of achieving social sustainability. The discussion will move on now to focus on urban sustainable development at the neighbourhood level, with a special focus on the implications for the neighbourhood's social sustainability of the provision local facilities. The next section will provide definitions and discussions of origins of the concepts of neighbourhoods and sustainable neighbourhoods.

2.6 Sustainable neighbourhood: origins, definitions and indicators

Barton (1995) stated that sustainable development can be approached on different levels: global, country, city, neighbourhood and individual building. Where cities are very important for achieving sustainable development, achieving sustainability at the city level depends on achieving sustainability at the neighbourhood level as "no single city

can contribute to overall sustainability if its own component parts are found not to be sustainable" Choguill (2008 p 41).

The importance of the local area, the neighbourhood, for creating sustainable development is not new it has been stressed by a number of authors. Berg (2004) cited the following authors: Alexander *et al*. (1977), Etzioni (1993), Paterson (1997) and Putnam (2000).

Kearns and Parkinson (2001 p 209) said that the "Neighbourhood is significant in a number of ways, such as being an important component of a competitive social and economic world; a reservoir of resources into which we can 'dip' in pursuing our lives; an influence upon our lifestyle and life outcomes; a 'shaper' of who we are, both as defined by ourselves and by others; and an important arena of public policy intervention". Barton (2003) argued for the need to plan sustainable neighbourhoods, as neighbourhood planning and design can affect the three main aspects of sustainability: firstly, economic and civic vitality (it affects vitality of the local economy, partnership in the community), and the desire to invest in people and places; secondly, environmental sustainability (residential settlements have a great impact on the use of resources and pollution); and finally, health and quality of life (the physical environment of a neighbourhood has a great impact on both quality of life and well-being through the well design of housing and public place, and through influencing residents' behaviour and sense of community). Berg (2004 p 50) added, more specific reasons for the concern about sustainability at the neighbourhood level "if the communities work well people do not need to travel far to solve their problems, to find support and comfort in everyday life, to have some basic security for their children and to profit from their neighbourhood's common properties" (Berg 2004). Therefore, achieving sustainable neighbourhood is seen to be of great importance to achieve sustainable development in general.

However, this research focuses on the equity/access to services and opportunities aspect of social sustainability and the potential effect from having good access to local services on other aspects of social sustainability, which is further discussed in section (2.8).

Neighbourhood definition:

Neighbourhood is a wide term that can be identified in different ways. However, according to Vine *et al* (2012), while the term "neighbourhood" is used in everyday conversation it lacks any single or widely agreed definition (Vine *et al* 2012). Similar view was expressed by Barton (2003) explained that there is no accepted base to define neighbourhoods and suggested five different ways that might help in defining urban localities which are: the administrative convenience; aesthetic; residents' perception; local catchments; and the traffic calmed area approaches.

Many authors have produced approaches to identify the meanings of neighbourhoods from different point of views. Galster (2001) classified different attempts made by different authors to define neighbourhoods. Some focused on the social perspective (for example, Brower 1996), while others focused on ecological physical perspectives (for example, Keller 1968 and Hess 1975, Golab 1982). Other scholars aimed to integrate ecological physical and social perspectives (Schoenberg 1979, Downs 1981, Warren 1981, Hallaman 1984, Casy 1997). However, the latter approaches -ecological physical, social and special- approaches to define neighbourhoods were seen by Galster (2001) to lack many features of the local residential environment that are of great importance to the quality of the place from the residents', property owners' and investors' points of view. To overcome this problem, Galster (2001) uses a new approach to define neighbourhood from a multidimensional perspective, consisting of several types of characteristics: structural, infrastructural, demographical, class status, tax and public services, environmental, proximity, political, social interaction, and sentimental characteristics. Dempsey and Jenks (2007) also cited different approaches to define neighbourhoods and categorised them into: a spatial approach (e.g. Golab 2001, Barton 2000); social approach (e.g. Jacobs 1961; Cullen 1961; Lynch, 1960; Rapoport 1977; Talen 1999; Nasar 1998); functional approach (e.g. Ahlbrandt and Cunningham, 1979, Aldous 1992, Talen, 2003); community approach (e.g. Crow and Allan 1994); all-encompassing approach (e.g. Hallman 1984, Keller 1968); and a layered frame of references approach (Suttles 1972, Power 2004). Kearns and Parkinson (2001) also followed the multilayer's approaches to define neighbourhoods, based on three scaled, each of these scales has its own function but at the same time it is able to fulfil each of the functions.

The following table provides different approaches to identify neighbourhoods.

Author	Neighbourhood definition	Approach
Brower (1996)	Good neighbourhood is where the home area are multifunctional including relaxation and re-creation functions, social interaction function, and providing for sense of place function.	Social point of view
Keller (1968, p.89)	"place of physical and symbolic boundaries"	Physical point of view
Morris and Hess (1975 p 6)	"Place and people, with the common sense limit as the area one can easily walk over".	
Golab (1982 p72)	"physical and geographical entity with specific boundaries"	
(Barton, 2000 p124)	Neighbourhood is "an area of distinctive identity, normally named, which may coincide with either a local catchment area or an environmental area, or both, and is geared towards pedestrian/cyclist access"	
Schoenberg (1979 p69)	"common named boundaries, more than one institution identified by the area and more than one tie of shared public space or social networks" Schoenberg	Physical and social perspectives
Down (1981 p15)	"Geographic units within which certain social relationships exist"	
Warren (1981 p 62)	"a social organization of population residing in a geographically proximate locale"	
Hallman (1984 p 13)	"a limited territory within a larger urban area, where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially"	
Casey (1997)	Neighbourhood is a number of near residences which will provide 'face to face' relationships between their residents.	
(Madanipour, 1998, 81).	The space is "a manifestation of social relationships while affecting and shaping the geometrics of these relationships"	
Ahlbrandt and Cunningham (1979 p9)	The neighbourhood is perceived as "a community, as a market, as a service area, as a provider of shelter".	Functional perspective
Hallman (1984 p14) Barton (2000 p5)	"The neighbourhood is a physical space which provide the services needed for its residents".	
Galster (2001 p 2112)	A bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses"	Multidimensional perspective

Kearns and Parkinson (2001)	Neighbourhoods exist in three scales: the home area, the locality, and the urban district, each of these scales is having its own function but at the same time able to fulfil each of the functions.	Multilayered
(Barton, *et al* 2003).	Administrative convenience which is related to ward or parish boundaries. Aesthetic definition which is related to age and dominant buildings. Residents' perceptions of their own neighbourhood identified usually by barriers like rivers, main roads or even open spaces. Local catchments in which neighbourhood is located around local service centre and primary school. The traffic calmed area where quality of the environment is of value more than the need to travel. (300 cars per hour according to Buchanan *et al* 1963)	Five different approaches

Table 2.4 Different approaches to provide neighbourhood definitions
Source: the researcher based on Galster (2001) and Dempsey and Jenks (2007)

Nevertheless, there is a wide range of approaches to define neighbourhoods, however, consensus on the definition of neighbourhood does not exist, as there is neither specific population size, nor specific function to identify which we can consider as neighbourhoods. Dempsey and Jenks (2007) stressed the importance the neighbourhood definition adopted in empirical research to be comprehensible to different groups of people including researchers, other people who are making the decisions over the development of the neighbourhood such as policy makers and developers and those who live in the neighbourhood or use the facilities within the neighbourhood and might be involved in the research process. They also stressed that this definition should help in understanding the physical setting for the research. In this research the administrative definition of neighbourhood is followed to analyse the selected case studies in Aleppo as, this definition is apprehensive to most of the stakeholders involved in the research. Moreover, according to Barton (2003), this definition will give help in assessing responsibilities and legitimacy to the local authorities as it will be used in most formal reports regarding the neighbourhood.

The origin of the concept of 'sustainable neighbourhood'

Friedman (2007) reviewed the history of the neighbourhood's concept: He stated that it dated back to the Greek planners, in the 7th century B.C, who divided their cities into a number of 'autonomous' areas that were separated from the institutional buildings. This concept was changed in the middle ages neighbourhood as those within the city walls used to be mixed neighbourhoods with high density and mixed uses. In the renaissance

era the Greek and Roman forms were adopted again as neighbourhoods were provided with a significant separation between residential and other urban activities. However, the neighbourhood form was significantly affected by the emergence of the industrial revolution and the emergence of new technology which result in large waves of migration from rural areas. This in return resulted in overcrowded cities that shortfall the basic services and facilities needed for their residents. Therefore, the need for planning healthier neighbourhoods was inevitable. According to Friedman (2007), the first example of modern planned neighbourhood was presented in the 19th century by Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. They aim to deliver self-sufficient suburbs that integrate with the nature, have mixed use activities and have a balance of social mix, thus provide for people's need and social interaction (Friedman 2007).

At the end of the 19th century two new movements played a significant role in neighbourhood planning: the garden city movement, and the city beautiful movement[4] (Choguill 2007). According to Moughtin and Shirley (2005), the urban designers of the 18th and 19th centuries who integrated human and natural landscapes were the first to introduce the idea of sustainable neighbourhood development, long before the new environmental movements.

The mass transit development such as the railways and underground trains underpinned the expansion of new suburbs. However, these suburb forms resulted in greater demand for land use, while their low density did not support the provision of frequent amenities. Later on, these forms of urban expansion lead to great reliance on car to reach basic facilities and thus the need of building more roads and infrastructures. In addition, the

[4]Howards' Garden City succeeded in transforming urban planning from a public health concern to detailed spatial arrangements of urban activities in order to achieve a moderate decentralization plan with an urban centre that includes quiet residential neighbourhoods and its facilities (Campbell and Fainstein1996). The city beautiful movement in North America started in 1893. It promoted the development of civic places within cities with the aim to create holistic places rather than isolated environment (Holcomb and Beauregard 1981 in Friedman 2007).

poor provision of local facilities negatively affected social interaction in these suburbs as meeting places were not properly provided (Friedman 2007).

As a result of the unsustainable urban forms there was an increased desire to improve the quality of life and to seek more sustainable forms of residential settlement the (Friedman 2007). This was further supported by the concern of the impact on the environment raised by the environmental movement in the 1970s. Spin (1984 in Friedman 2007) introduced early writings about sustainable urban areas through stressing the importance of the connection between urban areas and their geographical settings. In the 1990s the importance of taking account of sustainability principles in urban planning in order to promote sustainable urban development was advocated by a great number of authors and movements. Kim (2000) reviewed three main movements: New Urbanism, Urban village and Eco Village, while Garde (2010) cited the following authors: Banister *et al* (1997); Beatley (1997; 1999); Campbell (1996); Honachefsky (1999); McDonald and Wheeler (2005).

Definitions and indicators of sustainable neighbourhood:

Following the description of the emergence of the concept of sustainable neighbourhood, this section provides a range of definitions and different indicators for the concept of sustainable neighbourhood.

Different definitions of sustainable neighbourhood were produced by different authors and organizations, based mainly on the Brundtland definition of sustainable development. Carley and Kirk (1998 p 5) introduced a definition for sustainable neighbourhood as: "Lively, local, mixed-use settlements which maximize quality of life and social interaction and minimize negative effects, whether social or environmental, thus benefiting both local residents and society at large". Rudlin and Falk (1999 p 147) developed a definition as "urban areas that are sustained and that can minimize their environmental impact" at the same time they can be "sustained socially and economically in the future and not require public investment and redevelopment in the future". Kim (2000 p 59) introduced a definition for sustainable neighbourhood based on Carley and Kirk (1998) as a "walkable neighbourhood within which a mix of people can live (without segregation), maximize their quality of life, enjoy social interaction and partial self-

sufficiency in basic facilities (e.g. homes, jobs, food shops, schools and post offices), resources (e.g. energy, water, wastes and building materials) and decision making (e.g. design and management), and experience minimal negative effects, whether social or environmental, thus benefiting both local residents and society at large". The Haute Qualité Environnementale Economique Réhabilitation (HQE²R) defined sustainable development at the neighbourhood-level as a "development that responds to local needs without compromising the ability of people globally to respond to their own needs" (HQE²R in Blum *et al* 2009 p 39).

In addition to defining the concept of sustainable neighbourhood, numerous researches and studies have been carried out by different organizations to set indicators and identify characteristics of sustainable neighbourhoods (e.g. LEED-ND 2009; BREEAM 2009; H M Government, 2005; CNU 2001; Earth Craft Communities 2011), and by different scholars (e.g. Barton *et al* 1995, 2003, 2010; Jabareen 2006; Choguill 2008; Friedman 2007; Stevenson and Williams 2000; Kim 2005). Appendix 2-1 summarises different characteristic of sustainable neighbourhoods provided by different authors and different organizations. However, while characteristics of sustainable neighbourhood varied among the different authors, there was an obvious integration among these characteristics as each of them can influence and be influenced by the other. In general, there is a strong agreement on basic elements of sustainable neighbourhood which is derived from the three main aspects of sustainability: sustainable neighbourhood should be eco-friendly and reduce negative impact on the environment; support local economy; and provide cohesive communities and sense of place.

2.7 The implication of providing local facilities for neighbourhood social sustainability

Providing a mix of uses and services is seen by many of the scholars as a common component of a sustainable neighbourhood. Providing local facilities can contribute to economic, environmental and social sustainability. This study focuses on the implication of providing local facilities for achieving sustainability at the neighbourhood level. It focuses specifically on how these local facilities may improve the aspect of social sustainability.

However, although the literature indicates the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability, there is a lack of direct attention to the role of local facilities in promoting sustainability at the neighbourhood level. This section identifies potential impacts of local facilities on sustainability at the neighbourhood level in general, and on the aspect of social sustainability in particular.

According to Llewelyn-Davies (2001), in order to create successful communities a full range of local services and facilities must be suitably located and accessible through safe and comfortable routes to people in the residential areas. In return, providing local facilities in residential developments will result in increasing vitality, providing a sense of community and enhancing the social and economic sustainability of the neighbourhood. New residential development, thus, must provide the needed services and facilities for its residents, otherwise they would put further pressure on already overstretched facilities and services and increase the need to travel.

2.7.1 The importance of local services for neighbourhood sustainability:

As urban life is focused on people, it entails the provision of various activities in order to meet the daily needs of its residents and ensure their wellbeing (Fakere and Ayeni 2013). Urban public spaces are vital locations with an important, direct and indirect, impact on the quality of life and the welfare of people (Witten *et al* 2003); on the one hand, it affects 'ease and difficulties' of everyday life and, on the other hand, it affects the social interaction and 'morals' of the community (Kearns *et al* 2000).

Besides their prime functions' advantages (e.g. educational functions of schools; health functions of health centres; enhancing biodiversity through increasing green spaces etc), the availability of these facilities locally can impact sustainability at the neighbourhood level in many different ways. A significant proportion of the literature has identified the potential impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability.

Some studies have focused on local facilities as part of mix of use which is important to achieving sustainability at the neighbourhood level, while others have focused on the benefits of compact form to sustainability and considered mix of use and access to local facilities as one of the components of compact form. In addition, a number of studies have focused on benefits of some of the local facilities, individually, to promoting

sustainability at the neighbourhood level. This section provides a brief review of potential impacts of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability:

2.7.1.1 Impacts on economic sustainability

Local facilities are important to economic sustainability in general. The use of local facilities will reduce the use of the car, which in turn will reduce traffic congestion, thereby promoting efficiency and reducing the need to invest more in building roads (William and Dair 2007, Friedman 2007). Providing local facilities and actual use of them reduce the time and financial costs of access, which in turn save individual and household resources through reducing the use of the car and the cost of transportation (Friedman 2007, Pearce *et al* 2006). Moreover, the use of local facilities at the neighbourhood level is claimed to have direct impact on economic sustainability of the local neighbourhood. The provision of local facilities within the neighbourhood can sustain the local economy through providing local job opportunities and local recycling of money; the actual use of these facilities increases the viability of these services and in turn supports and maintains the local economy (Dixon and Marston 2003, Barton 2003, Stevenson and Williams 2000, Llewelyn-Davies 2007, Williams and Dair 2007). At the same time local facilities, especially local supply chains, will help recycle and retain the circulation of money locally which influences the economic growth of the neighbourhood (Dixon and Marston 2003, William and Dair 2007, Barton 2003).

2.7.1.2 Impacts on environmental sustainability

As stated above, the use of local facilities will reduce the need to travel outside the neighbourhood and, thus, reduce the use of car (DETR 2000, William and Dair 2007, Barton 1995, 2003, 2010). Making fewer car trips will, in return, contribute to environmental sustainability in terms of reducing air pollution from emissions (William and Dair 2007, Friedman 2007, Barton 1995, 2003, DETR 2000, and Stevenson and Williams 2000). Moreover, less car use will contribute to reducing the consumption of oil and thus reduce demand for non-renewable resources (William and Dair 2007, Llewelyn-Davies 2007). It will also reduce the proportion of land used for road infrastructure and road network (Friedman 2007, William and Dair 2007). Another advantage for the provision of local facilities to environment sustainability is the

opportunity for space and energy sharing, which will contribute positively to the environmental sustainability through providing the possibility of community heating schemes (combined heat and power), as some facilities like schools consume energy in the daytime while houses consume most energy in the evening (Barton 2003).

2.7.1.3 Impacts on social sustainability

The provision of local facilities contributes both directly and indirectly to promoting social sustainability within the neighbourhood in its two parts: social equity and sustainability of community.

Providing local facilities within the neighbourhood is of great importance in neighbourhood planning and design (Barton *et al* 2010).The main concept behind this is accessibility**,** which is an important component of social equity (Dempsey *et al* 2012, Burton 2000, Barton 1995, 2003, 2010). Pearce *et al* (2006) stated that local facilities can influence the health and wellbeing of people in a different way, which is providing easy access to shopping, exercising, and health checkups and meeting neighbours etc. Mohit *et al* (2010) added that local facilities have a significant impact on producing housing quality and in turn on residential satisfaction. Fakere and Ayeni (2013 p 49) added that providing local facilities "increase the level of fairness and equity in the community". Provision of local facilities is a priority for people when they move to new areas and lack of facilities can result in inconvenience for people (Barton 2003, Llewelyn-Davies 2007). More specifically, accessibility of neighbourhood services is of great importance to different groups, such as older residents (Barton 2003, Bowling *et al* 2006) and unemployed residents who cannot use services near their workplace, so need to use facilities near where they live (Barton 2003). The local facilities should be accessible to different groups of people, including the less mobile, parents with buggies etc, by walking, cycling, motorised wheelchairs or public transport (Barton 2010).

On the other hand, the provision of services and facilities locally can encourage a travel mode whereby people choose to walk or cycle, which contributes to better physical health (Barton 2003). Radisch and Cervero (1996) found that mixed-use and pedestrian-friendly neighbourhoods can promote more walking and cycling than using cars. Similarly, Witten (2008) expressed that the accessibility of 'utilitarian' destinations, such as local facilities,

was seen to improve physical activities like walking and cycling, which increase as distances to neighbourhood facilities decrease. He cited the following references: Li *et al* (2005); van Lenthe *et al* (2005); Diez Roux *et al* (2007); Parks *et al* (2003). Bowling *et al* (2006) expressed similar views in terms of promoting better health especially with regard to aging group of people. In addition, the provision of specific facilities such as leisure facilities is seen to directly improve physical health, as such facilities encourage higher rates of physical activity and reduce levels of obesity (Ellaway *et al* 2005).

Moreover, some specific facilities were also seen to have impact on mental health. It was found that green space can have a beneficial effect on health and well-being through reducing stress level when spending time out of daily pressure (Hartig 2008, Dempsey *et al* 2012, Fakere and Ayeni 2013).

In addition, using local facilities will reduce car use and thus reduce noise pollution from traffic congestion, which affects quality of life negatively (William and Dair 2007). It also contributes to reducing pollution from emissions, which has serious impacts on health (William and Dair 2007, COMEAP 1998).

Another important contribution of local facilities to social sustainability is through increasing chances for social interaction (Talen 1999, Frey 1999). The use of local facilities and walking to them can provide meeting places for people (Barton 2003, Choguil 2007, William and Dair2007, Dempsey 2012, Talen, 1999, Carmona *et al* 2001, Fakere and Ayeni 2013). Using local facilities can also support the viability of the various facilities which will in turn provide for social cohesion and decrease the chance of people getting socially isolated or excluded (William and Dair 2007). Some specific facilities, e.g. local shops, supermarkets and schools, can positively affect social interaction through acting as a 'node of community' (Dempsey *et al* 2012). The same can be said about community centres, green spaces and religious buildings.

Barton (2003) added another potential benefit of local facilities as the opportunity to share spaces, which can enhance social opportunity and viability. For example, a healthy living centre can accommodate different social activities where sharing and managing the facilities can provide for social capital, another example is when schools can share their recreational facilities (library and hall) to provide for adult education.

In addition, the use of local facilities and social interaction can encourage people to participate in the local community organisations and activities which can result in improving the quality of life and, moreover, in decreasing crime rates (Williams and Dair 2007).

Safety and security is another aspect affected by the provision of local facilities within the neighbourhood. Local facilities, specifically corner shops, can provide natural surveillance through providing eyes on streets, while, the use of these local facilities can also increase the number of people on streets (Jacobs 1961, Dempsey *et al* 2012, Carmona *et al* 2001, William and Dair 2007, Barton 2003, Stevenson and Williams 2000, Llewelyn-Davies 2007).

Another possible benefit of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability is the fostering of the sense of place. Barton and Tsourou (2000) argued that better social interactions and sense of community can result from a good relationship between housing and local employment, retail, education and health facilities can facilitate. On the one hand, local facilities can provide a place for people to meet, promote social interaction and consequently they can foster sense of place (Stevenson and Williams 2000; Barton 2003; Llewelyn-Davies 2007; Frey 1999; Dempsey *et al* 2012, Fakere and Ayeni (2013). The usage of local facilities can "bring people together which is considered in itself as a form of collective pride and a strong sense of community" (Dempsey *et al* 2012 p 100). On the other hand, the appearance of local facilities can influence the appearance and aesthetics of the physical environment in the neighbourhood which, in return, affect the sense of place (Bramley *et al* 2010). The mix of uses in the neighbourhood can help revitalizing the neighbourhood through providing for other activities rather than providing for merely housing which, in return, enhance the local identity (Stevenson and Williams 2000, Llewelyn-Davies 2007).

We conclude that local facilities can contribute to benefiting sustainability at the neighbourhood level in its economic, environmental and, most importantly, social aspects which is the main concern of this research.

2.7.2 Accessibility of local facilities, range, and catchments

Following the previous discussion about the importance of local facilities to sustainability in general and social sustainability in particular, it can be noted that it is not only the provision of local facilities but the actual use of them that benefits sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The use of the local facilities does not simply depend on the actual availability of these services and facilities, but also on the 'preconditions' of facilities regarding quality, accessibility and viability (Barton 2003). This section explores the concept of accessibility, which is a broad concept in itself.

Identifying the range of local facilities that should be provided is dependent on the urban scale and density of the neighbourhood. Many researches discuss the importance of providing facilities covering different scales, from neighbourhood units to the national level; some facilities may be available in the wider area while others will need to be provided locally. Some of these studies focused on individual facilities, while others stressed the importance of providing a wide range of local facilities to satisfy residents' needs. A handful of studies identified the range of facilities that should be provided in neighbourhoods depending on catchments and densities including for example: schools; childcare; community centres; healthcare facilities; district/neighbourhood centre; green space etc. (Ireland government standards for sustainable neighbourhoods 2010, BREEAM 2009, Barton *et al* 1995, 2003, 2010, Farthing, Winter and Coombes 1997, Dempsey *et al* 2012, Fakere and Ayeni 2013). See appendix 2-2 for a summary of the range of facilities identified.

Based on the reviewed ranges of facilities and the Syrian Planning Standards (1982) which list services and facilities that should be provided in residential areas, the local facilities considered in this research will include: 1) Shopping facilities; 2) Community centres; 3) Health facilities; 4) Schools; 5) Nurseries; 6) Religious worship places and 7) recreational facilities and green spaces.

Accessibility

However accessing local facilities is not only based on the provision of these facilities but is based on other important aspects. Local facilities should be provided within

appropriate proximity and with high quality urban design; these aspects would have direct impact on people's desire to use the facilities and to walk, cycle or use public transport to reach them (DETR and CABE 2000, Carmona *et al* 2000, Williams and Dair 2007). In addition, aspects like safety, and designing streets for low speed should be considered and certain criteria should be provided for transport networks [5] (Barton 1995, Llewelyn and Davies 2007). However, in addition to the spatial aspects, other non-spatial aspects have great impact on accessibility of local facilities.

According to Doi *et al* (2008) the concept of accessibility includes a range of features in addition to physical ones. These other features include mental, economic, and financial ones (Doi *et al* 2008). Many studies have reviewed different approaches to identifying accessibility (e.g Lotfi and Koohsari 2009, Bisht, Mishra and Fuloria 2010, Farrington 2005, Geurs 2006). Some definitions focused on ease of access (e.g. Cowan 2003), others focused on people's ability to access the facilities (e.g. Moseley 1979, Lynch 1984, Farrington and Farrington 2005, Farrington 2007). Another group of definitions combined the ease of access and the ability of people to reach the facilities: e.g. Pirie (1981); Gulliford *et al* (2002), Hay (1995), and Higgs and White (2000). In addition, some scholars have widened the concept of accessibility to include different varieties. Penchansky (1981) produced five aspects: availability, accessibility, accommodation, affordability and acceptability. Geurs (2006) identified four different approaches to measure accessibility as: infrastructure-base (transport performance); location-based (distribution of facilities); person-based (individual participation) and utility-based (people benefits from accessing the facilities). Bisht, Mishra and Fuloria (2010) argued that accessibility goes beyond the spatial dimension to include socio-economic and other non-spatial dimensions and proposed three main aspects of accessibility as: mobility, information and development, Table (2.4) provide a summary of the different approaches to identify accessibility.

[5] Transport networks should be connected; permeable and comprehensive; integrated with public spaces; eligible and conspicuous; convenient and comfortable; access to nearby local facilities should be direct and pleasant; access to long distant facilities should be facilitated and integrated with green spaces. In addition, routes should be safe and secured by design (eyes on street, policed by nearby residents). (Williams and Dair 2007, Barton 2003, 1995, Llewelyn-Davies 2007).

Author	Accessibility definition	Approach
Cowan 2003 p 2	Accessibility is "the ease with which a building, place or facility can be reached by people and/or goods and services".	Ease of access
Johnston *et al* 2000	Accessibility is the 'ease' with which a certain place can be reached using a certain mode of travel.	
Lynch (1984)	Accessibility is residents 'ability' to access activities, resources, services, information in an easy way.	people's ability to easily access the facilities
Moseley (1979 p 56) in Farrington and Farrington (2005)	Accessibility is the degree to which someone or something is get-at-able	
Farrington (2007 p 2) based on Molseley (1979)	The ability of people to reach and engage in opportunities and activities''. Where Reachability include spatial separation, mobility and transport use.	
Pirie (1981)	Accessibility is about both reachability and convenience.	combination between the ease of access and the ability of people to reach the facilities
Gulliford *et al* (2002), Hay (1995), Higgs and White (2000)	Accessibility have two different aspects: first, having access which focus on the actual availability of the facilities, and second, gaining access which focus on the ability of people to use the available facility.	
Penchansky and Thomas (1981)	Produced five aspects as: availability, accessibility, accommodation, affordability and acceptability.	.
Geurs 2006	Infrastructure-base accessibility; transport performance Location-based accessibility; distribution of facilities Person-based accessibility; individual participation Utility-based accessibility; people benefits from accessing the facilities	different aspects of accessibility
Bisht, Mishra and Fuloria (2010)	Mobility, information and development	

Table 2.5 Different approaches to identify accessibility based on Lotfi (2009) and Bisht, Mishra and Fuloria (2010)

All in all, despite the different approaches to identifying the concept of accessibility, a consensus does not exist on the meaning of accessibility (Lotfi and Koohsari 2009).

Therefore, for planners and urban designers, providing accessible local facilities will include many different aspects. It was not easy to provide a clear definition for the catchments of local as the use of these facilities depend on many variables, including for example: mobility, the impact of closures of these facilities on homes; quality of the service and facility, people's choices in the use of local facilities, neighbourhood density and on the way to and round work place (Barton 2003, Dempsey *et al* 2012).However, regardless of the fact that people may or may not use the local facilities, a great section of the residents were still dependent on these facilities, especially those who do not have access to private cars. Thus, it was of great importance to neighbourhood design to provide accessible local facilities for everyone regardless of their age or level of temporary or permanent disability (Barton 1995, 2003).

In terms of measuring accessibility, while the above-mentioned literature identified different aspects of accessibility, recent literature has focused on the spatial component in measuring accessibility (Bisht, Mishra and Fuloria 2010). Lotfi and Koohsari (2009) distinguished between two different ways of measuring accessibility based on objective and subjective factors; "The subjective dimension relates to the tendencies and characters of citizens, while the objective one is dependent upon the physical environment of their living place" Lotfi and Koohsari (2009 p1). Moreover, Dempsey *et al* (2012) identify measures of the built environment that affect accessibility including location of facilities and transport mode (public transport routes; walking and cycling). Dempsey *et al* (2012) stressed that the different modes of transport available to access services affect the extent and nature of accessibility.

The present research understands the concept of accessibility as a mix between the different aspects. However, to measure accessibility the research concentrates on the measurement of local facilities at the neighbourhood level based on residents' perception of accessibility of local facilities; it also considers the actual usage of these facilities.

2.8 Towards a framework for evaluating the impact of local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level

Upon the above literature, a framework for evaluating the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood's sustainability is developed and presented in this section. Table 2-5

summarises the main potential impacts of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability identified by different studies and provides criteria to achieve the potential impact on sustainability by provision of local facilities.

Sustainability dimension	Sustainability aims	Sustainability objectives for planning and design of local facilities	Sustainability criteria for planning and design of local facilities
Social sustainability	• Social equity • Sustainability of community	• Accessibility to a wide range of services that satisfy the needs of the variety of people • Promoting active modes of travel • Opportunities for people to meet and interact • Safety and security • Sense of community and identity	• Are the local facilities satisfying the needs of the variety of residents in the neighbourhood? • Are local facilities accessible via appropriate mode of travel (e.g. walking, public transport) • Are the local facilities encouraging social interaction (formal and informal) through walking to these facilities or through using them? Do local facilities include community facilities (I.e. community centre) to allow for (formal and informal) social interaction and local decision making? And do any of the other facilities provide for community activities (religious buildings or schools hall used for social activities)? • Are local facilities encouraging more people on streets and more eyes on streets to safety? • Are the local facilities of good character and high quality design that promote the local character and result in higher sense of place?
Economic sustainability	• Employment • Economic growth	• Job opportunities(local job opportunities which contribute to recycling money locally • Skill development(education level) • reduce travel cost	• Are local facilities providing local job opportunities? • Do local facilities include adequate Range of schools to allow for equal education opportunities and skills development? • Are local facilities providing for the resident's needs within accessible walking distance to reduce the use of cars and result in less travel cost for residents?
Environmental sustainability	• Protecting the environment and Careful consumption of resources	• Reduce pollution/congestion from transport • Enhancing biodiversity	• Are local facilities providing for the resident's needs within accessible walking distance to reduce the use of cars and result in less polluting emissions? • Are local facilities providing for local job opportunities within accessible walking distance to reduce the use of cars and result in less polluting emissions? • Do local facilities include appropriate range of green spaces that enhance biodiversity

Table 2.6 The main potential impacts of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability

Where all these criteria can be used to evaluate the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability, this research focuses only on the potential impact of local facilities on social sustainability based on residents' perception of these impacts. The research methodology includes surveying the facilities in the case study neighbourhoods and interviewing residents within these neighbourhoods. Thus, available data offer much more material allowing this analysis than of any of the other dimensions. However, this research does take into account the environmental and economic impacts interlinked with social sustainability, as providing for social sustainability will contribute to economic and environmental aims as well, without dealing deeply with the concepts of environmental and economic sustainability.

The evaluation framework will focus on five main aspects:

- Accessibility and usage of the local facilities;
- Travel mode;
- Social interaction;
- Safety and security; and
- Sense of place.

This framework will be used in Chapter 7 to analyse the impact of the provision of local facilities (Shopping facilities; Community centres; Health facilities; Schools; Nurseries; Religious worship places; and recreational facilities and Green spaces) on sustainability in three particular case study neighbourhoods in Aleppo.

2.9 Conclusion

The review of the literature provided in this chapter discussed origins and definitions of the concept of sustainable development, with a specific focus on the aspect of social sustainability in urban development. It discussed the concept of sustainable neighbourhood and introduced criteria and indicators of sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The review showed a strong consensus that sustainable development is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary problem of significant complexity, and that approaching it will require comprehensive consideration of the different aspects that influence each other. The literature suggested that social sustainability is less researched than other aspects of sustainability. In the built environment and especially at the neighbourhood level, many aspects contribute to

benefiting social sustainability. The aspect of providing accessible local facilities was seen to be of importance to achieving social sustainability in many ways.

Achieving the potential impact of local facilities on social sustainability is not easy, as it depends on many issues. However, it certainly requires appropriate provision of local facilities, which is an outcome of governance process of planning and implementation of these facilities. The next chapter discusses the importance of governance for achieving sustainable urban development and approaches to analysing the governance process.

Chapter 3 The implications of recent urban governance theories for the provision of neighbourhood local facilities

The previous chapter expressed that the provision of local facilities is an important element to promote sustainability at the neighbourhood level. In this chapter the literature is reviewed on the importance of governance process over providing local facilities to provide a positive impact on neighbourhood social sustainability is discussed. Good governance is introduced as a main factor in the process of urban development and in implementing sustainable local facilities.

3.1 Meanings and Definitions of governance

In the *Oxford Dictionary* governance is defined as "the act or manner of governing, of exercising control or authority over the action of subjects; a system of regulations". Kooiman (2003 p 4) expressed the concept of governance as "the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing". This reflects that there is no single accepted definition of governance. The concept of governance was introduced by many authors based mainly upon the roles and relationships between the main actors in governance and the extent to which each actor participate.

Two broad meanings of governance were recognised by Hall (2011): the traditional meaning where government is the main actor and the contemporary one where other actors besides government have effective roles.

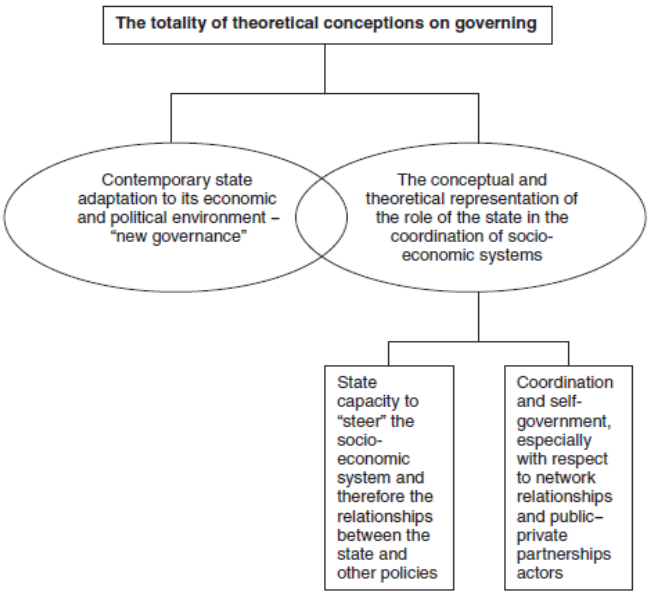

Figure 3.1 Broad meanings of governance
Source: Hall (2011 p 440)

The term governance was thus sometimes not distinguished from government (MaCarney 1996 in Smith 2004, Harphman and Baoateng 1997), as the previous concept of governance used to focus on the state's role rather than the roles of the other stakeholders, who were expected to agree with the state's decisions (McCarney 1996 in Smith 2004). In addition, governance was sometimes to replace the word government where governance refers to a new form of better managed government or new public management (Stoker 1998a). However, Rhodes (2007 p 1251) explained that the 20th century witnessed an important change in the 'balance between government and governance' as the boundaries between the state and other stakeholders shifted significantly.

The new concept of governance extends the concept of government to include a wider set of institutions and organizations in decision making over policies and practices of governance (Mitlin 2004). Many of the new definitions of governance agree that concepts like increasing globalisation, private-public partnership, privatisation, and more institutional fragmentation, are features of the contemporary context of governance (Kjaer 2004; Pierre 2000; Pierre & Peters, 2005 in Hall 2011). However, different authors approach governance from different point of views.

Some definitions of governance focus on the minimization of the government role in general and the involvement of other actors. For example, Bagnasco and Le Gales (2000) addressed governance as the change from focusing on the role of state as a main actor to minimising this role and including other stakeholders in 'collective actions'.

Some authors refer to the importance of the involvement of the private sector with the state, without direct attention to the role of the community sector. OECD (1991) focused on involving the private sector to improve the performance of public sector departments. It paid little attention to the role of the community (Harpham and Boateng 1997).

Others focused on the networks and relationship between the state and civil society. For example, Devas (1999) expressed that governance is about the variety of relationships that exists between civil society and the state. Halfani *et al* (1994) identified governance as the relationship between the state and civil society - 'the government and the governed'. Similarly, Pierre (1998) considers it as a "form of institutionalization of coordinating mechanisms between state and civil society, with the nature of state intervention in civil society being to promote its objectives". Decker and Van Kempen (2004) also perceived urban governance to be about 'self-organizing' networks and 'bottom-up' approaches where citizens had an important role to play in making decisions for the policy and the practices of governance (Decker and Vann Kempen 2004). Harpham and Boateng (1997) addressed that governance means that government and civil society have more 'action space' and more accountable and transparent relationship (Harphman and Baoateng 1997). Similarly, Kooiman (1993) and Paproski (1993 in Harpham and Boateng 1997) explain that governance is about the shift from the limited one-sided relationship between the state and the civil society to a wider dynamic complex and diverse relationship between the public sector and the various actors in civil society. Jusoh (2009 p 15) expressed that "governance is not synonymous with government, governance is a process whereby societies or organizations make their important decisions, determine whom they involve in the process and how they render account". Andersen (2001) specified that it is not enough for government to listen to the people, but also governments should vigorously involve people in the different aspects of decision making so people are capable of managing their own lives and undertake the necessary actions for improvement.

A more comprehensive view was adopted in another bunch of definitions which focused on the nexus between the wider ranges of actors that are considered to influence the process. Jenkins (2004) and (Stoker 1998b) refer to governance as the sphere of relations between government and other non-governmental actors including the private sector and civil society. Jenkins (2004) also argues that government does not work in 'isolation' but through these relationships with the other actors and within the wider context of the governance process. Healey (2007 p 17-18) added that governance is about "the shift of intellectual attention from description and evaluation of government activity in terms of formal competences and laws to a recognition that the spheres of the state, the economy and daily life overlap and interact in complex ways in the construction of politics and policy, and in the formation of policy agenda and practices" Mitlin (2004 p 1) explained that governance is "the institutions and processes, both formal and informal, which provide for the interaction of the state with a range of other agents or stakeholders affected by the activities of government".

Rhodes (1997) identified governance as the:

- "Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing the boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque.
- Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes.
- Game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants.
- A significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organizing. Although the state does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks". (Rhodes 1979 p 53)

Other scholars have defined governance by focusing on the structuring forces in addition to actors and their relationships. Campbell (1995) identified governance as the form of civic life which is influenced by the relationship between the structure and the process of politics. Pugh (2000 p 7-8) referred to governance as the "steering policy and practice for improved social opportunities, welfare and economic efficiency which is practiced in attempts to improve state-market-society relations". Healey (2006) argued that governance also involves the rules controlling activities in a political community, and the

principles distributing resources within this community. Stoker (1998a p19-24) identified five main aspects that should be considered:

- "Governance as a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from government but also from beyond it
- Governance identifies the blurred boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues
- Governance identifies the power dependences in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action
- Governance is about an autonomous self-governing network of actors
- Governance recognises the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority; it sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide"

In addition, some authors also referred to the importance of the geographic place where governance is practised, Stoker (1998b) defined governance as a "form of co-governing generated for a specific place such as a city" which entails collaboration between the different actors to achieve their goals through reaching consensus. Stoker's definition also stressed the importance of reaching consensus in the governance process. Similarly, Jessop (1997) thinks of governance as a system where the relevant actors collaborate; negotiate, and come to a consensus. In the same way, Kim and Dickey (2006 p 1037) defined governance as a "process of breaking from the previous conditions, where governance was centralized to promote a policy or project, to one in which a network is constructed by various actors; it is a co-governing system, settling socially complex issues by co-operating in partnership networks and coming to consensus by adjusting affairs". However, reaching consensus is quite a critical point that can prove hard to achieve[6].

All in all, it is clear that the governance concept is wide and complex. However, there is a consensus that the new concept of governance is focused on the nexus between the government and non-governmental forces, where using the term governance implies wider participation in decision making (Smith 2004). The importance of considering the

[6]Lukes (2005) identified three dimensions of power that can constrain making decision and actions: the subjective interest of the actors; the control of the agenda; and manipulation of decision making. In the urban arena for example there are conflicting interests, and rights to private and public property and to compensation are not well defined. Most political processes have major inbuilt biases which favour some actors (usually large corporate economic interests) over others. Power can be exercised in different ways to manipulate consensus.

structuring forces affecting these actors' activities and the context within which these activities are taking place has also proved to be important.

3.2 Main actors in governance and different approaches to their roles

No one actor, public or private, has sufficient knowledge and capacity to independently undertake a governing process (Rhodes 1997, Kooiman 1993). Governance is the result of a social-political-administrative sharing process between the public, private and civil society sectors where each has a different but equally important role (Jenkins and Smith 2001b). However, it is important to identify each of these actors and the main approaches to undertaking their roles.

3.2.1 The state

Harphman and Baoateng (1997 p 66) referred to the government as the "agencies that make and implement law" (Harphman and Baoateng 1997). Stoker (1998 p 34) stated that government is "the formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision making". Shaw (1993) stated that the term 'public sector' means a wide range of institutions, which are largely funded by national and local taxation[7] (Shaw 1993).

Government was the main actor in the neo-Marxist position. Its role was to provide for civil society, to support capital accumulation and to maintain social stability (Smith 1999, drawing on Marcuse 1977). In the first part of the 20th century government played an important role in the different aspects of people's life. It was supposed to realise and deliver public interests (Jenkins and Smith 2001, Healey 2007, Mandeli 2008). In practice, this approach had many shortcomings and other actors participated formally or informally in the delivery process, driven by various values and interests (Healey 2007). Communist regimes and socialist ones which drew on the neo-Marxist position used to emphasise the state role while ignoring the real Marxist idea of the 'withdrawing of the state', leaving economic activities and governance to be managed by local communities (Healey 2006). Migdal (1988) explained that when the concept of the state as the main

[7]These institutions "extend from department of governments through local government and its departments to public agencies and non-departmental public bodies. It extends to various executive authorities including Health boards and Hospital Trusts in the Health sector, School Boards in the educational sector. It will also extend to bodies constituted technically as companies limited by guarantee whose major or sole source of funding is derived from public funding"

'means' of 'economic development and social modernization' was adopted in the 20th century by the newly decolonised countries, it put great pressure on the states. These states, in return, were unable to meet expected aims, creating a significant gap between the policies and the actual practices (Migdal 1988 cited in Lambach 2004). Thus, unresponsive forms of governance resulted which were accompanied by opportunities for corruption in these regimes. In general, Lambach (2004 p 4) noted that "in contemporary world, the state as the sole accepted model of political order represents a normative demand rather than empirical reality".

The failure of the government to deliver public interests in middle income nations, accompanied by the approach of the neo-liberals towards market driven development, results in minimizing of the role of state and allowing for the expansion of the role of the market (Jenkins and Smith 2001b, Rakodi 2003, Mitlin 2004). In the neo-liberal position the state role was to provide a 'minimum regulation' for the market and a 'safety net regulation' for civil society. In this position, the state should be responsible only for the matters that the private sector cannot deal with (Healey 2006). This approach was criticised by Marxist analysis as turning the state into 'an arm' of the capitalist economy (Healey 2007). Anarchists (self-help position), on the other hand, expressed that the state must provide less regulation of the market and support access to resources by civil society (Jenkins and Smith 2001b). Thus, it aimed to overcome market failure through applying suitable public interventions (Alexander 2008). Hill and Bramley (1984 p 104) expressed that there is a middle way between the two extreme roles of the state – the state as the main provider of services and the state moving away from the provision process and depending on the market to provide services. They provided nine alternative roles of the state in the development process as: state provision with user charges; state as competitor; state as residual provider; contracting; state purchase of packed services; state as subsidiser; state as regulator; state as facilitator or co-ordinator; and state as bearer or spreader of risks.

In addition, Migdal (1988) argued that understanding the concept of the state, especially in developing countries, should be strongly based upon understanding the relationship between the state and society. He developed a model in which the state is one component of society which affects and is affected by society at the same time. The "state's capacity to control and extract resources, like its capacity to govern, is a function of the relations

between the state and civil society (Migdal 1988 in Peluso 1993). In addition, the "successful imposition of [the state's will] depends on the degree of its actual authority and, to an extent, on the legitimacy of the ruling components of the state among the various social groups and classes comprising society" (Peluso 1993 p 200).

In light of this understanding, Migdal (1988) differentiated between strong states and weak states. In the 'contemporary developed world' a strong state exists where the state is able to rule and serve society. Nonwithstanding, in many other parts of the world, the state fails to rule (e.g. fails to provide basic services, enforce policies or collect taxes), which can be seen as a weak form of state (Migdal 988 cited in Lambach 2004). However, Migdal (1988) claimed that where states are weak, societies tend to be strong. Dorman (2007) argued against such association of weak states with strong societies and stressed that in many cases the failure of the state to take action towards participation of society might not be a result of a weak state, rather, it could be caused by the direct or indirect role of the state in such participation (Dorman 2007).

Dorman (2007) distinguished between strong states and strong regimes. He cited definitions of the state where the state is seen as the centralised institutions ruling over their territories, which involve using power to achieve certain goals (Mann 1988 in Dorman 2007). Thus, the state's capacity to 'intervene, regulate and extract' in their societies strongly shape the definitions of these states (Crawford 1994 in Dorman 2007). On the other hand, a regime is seen as "the formal and informal centre of political power and its relations with the broader society. A regime determines who has access to political power and how those who are in power deal with those who are not" (Fishman 1999 in Dorman 2007 p 31).

He argued that in liberal-democratic regime western states, the state and society are engaged together in a relationship based on bargaining and biding where the state is able to 'penetrate' society and implement policies. In authoritarian regimes, on other hand, the state lacks the "infrastructural capacity to penetrate the society and implement policies. Thus, "in middle eastern authoritarian states, Autocracy and underdevelopment are closely associated" (Dorman 2007 p 33). Drawing on that, Dorman (2007) argued that weak states can exist along with strong regimes. He discussed three main reasons for the failure of these states as: 'disengagement between state and civil society';

'patrimonialism' and risk avoidance. Which in return encourage the development of 'informal socio-economic sectors; patronage networks and passive networks of resistance'

However, in recent times there has been a strong emphasis on the shift of the role of government towards an enabling role through "framing and promoting market and civil society activities" (Stoker and Young 1993 in Healey 2006), which is the core of the concept of governance. In general the main notion that governments have the 'authority and capacity' to make and implement policy, and to recognise development goals, was quite acceptable until the 1980s (Rakodi 2003); since then a significant change from government to governance is evident. This shift from government to governance has been addressed by many researches (for example Pierre 1999, Rakodi 2003, Silva and Syrett 2006), and has an important impact on forming the role of the state.

Silva and Syrett (2006) identified new shifts in the role of the state. The 'destatization' process in which the role of the state changed from a direct manager of development to a regulator, coordinator and enabler, while the relationship between the public and private sectors is based on cooperation and interdependence between the two (Silva and Syrett 2006 based on Kooiman, 1993; Stoker 1998; Jessop 2002). The 'hollowing-out' of the state in which the role of the nation state as the dominant governance actor decreases, while the role of supranational institutions at the global level, and the role of the regional economy at the subnational level, increase (Silva and Syrett 2006 based on Jessop 1994).

However, with regard to Syria, which is the main focus in this research, like many other socialist countries, the state was the main actor in the governance process for a long period until it started witnessing a move towards minimising the role of the state and increasing the role of the market and other sectors, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

3.2.2 The market

The market is the section of the economy that is financed and controlled by individuals or private institutions, where goods and services are produced by individuals and companies which interact primarily through markets. It is the part of the economy that is run for private profit and is not *run* by the state (Mayhew 2009), even though its activity may be *regulated* by the state.

The diminishing of the role of the state, due to the rise of the neo-liberal approach in the 'first world' and the collapse of state based 'real socialism' in the second world, allowed the market to play an enhanced role in governance of service delivery and distribution of resources (Jenkins and Smith 2001b). This concept faces many problems, as it may be characterized by 'producer's monopoly' and unacceptable variations in consumer's 'ability to pay' which means that some of the services that people need could be difficult to supply and maintain. Moreover, the 'competitive spirit' might negatively affect the relations between firms and thus weaken the flow of information among them (Healey 2006). Neo-Marxist and post-Marxist analysts criticized this position for being dominated by capitalism but they were not able to provide an alternative (Alexander 2008). Another approach to the role of the market is defined in the self-help position which proposes a limited role for the market. In this position the market role is about responding to the demands of civil society[8] through supplying resources and supports (Smith 1999). However, this position is criticised by political economists for underestimating the exchange value of service, thus allowing the market to create inequitable situations (Jenkins and Smith 2001, drawing on Burgess, 1978, 1982, 1985, 1987).

Hill and Bramley (1984 p 106) identified different potential roles of the market as: "competing suppliers to aid efficiency and keep cost down; competing suppliers to generate diversity in services and increase choice; generate more evidence about preferences; foster innovation and experiment in forms of services; involve alternative models to the standard bureaucratic hierarchy characteristics of the state; devolved self-regulation; involve marketing skills to generate greater take-ups; involve entrepreneurial and broking skills in bringing together fragmented resources; bring forth greater voluntary resources to relieve fiscal pressure from the state".

In addition, a range of authors classified the market into two categories, which are the formal and the informal market. The formal market "is based on the employment of waged labour within a framework of rules and regulations, usually devised and implemented by the state, on working hours, minimum wages, health and safety at work,

[8] Hill and Bramley (1984) distinguished between needs which is mainly and demands which is the "amount of good or service consumers are willing and able to pay for giving the price charged, their income and so on"(Hill and Bramley p 65)

or the social security obligations of employers and employees" (Daniels 2004 p 2). The informal market, on the other hand, is the branch of the market which operates outside government legislation (Lambach 2004). It is a 'floating phenomenon' that changes according to the surrounding circumstances combining legal and illegal activities. It includes ''all income-earning activities that are not regulated by the state in social environments where similar activities are regulated'' (Daniels 2004 p 3 drawing on and Portes 1989, Williams and Windebank 1998).

This type of market is significant and burgeoning in developing countries (Lambach 2004, Daniels 2004). It is considered by many economists as a result of government policies in terms of regulation, taxation and size of public sector, e.g. high taxes, large restricted bureaucracy (Lloomey 2006 drawing on Aarris and Tadaro 1970). It is usually associated with the form of weak state (Lambach 2004). It is affected by the incompetence and lack of reliability of the state through uncertainty of policies and inability to implement these policies (Loomey 2006). Moreover, the informal economy thrives in countries with 'closed, inward oriented' economies and/or with high level of corruption (Loomey 2006). In addition, the informal economies are also encouraged by certain circumstances like crisis, war and conflict, where formal public and private sectors are unable to function (Loomey 2006).

In Syria, like in many other developing countries in the Middle East and elsewhere, the informal sector is seen as an important actor in development.

3.2.3 Civil society

The concept of civil society is the core element in differentiating the government from governance (Harphman and Baoateng 1997); its interaction with the state is what defines the type of the state. Different definitions of civil society have been provided by many scholars. For example, civil society is defined as "the public life of individuals and institutions outside the control of the state" (Harphman and Baoateng 1997 p 66). Similarly, Hadenius and Uggla (1996 p 1621) identified civil society as the "organizations that exist outside the state realm on a free and independent basis and involve coordinated activities". They also added that "civil society is a multifaceted phenomenon. Whenever people combine, in one fashion or another, to pursue common objectives, civil society

manifests itself". However, it is also important to distinguish between civil society as a wider concept and the community.

Civil society was given an important role in the self-help position. A self-governance approach was regarded as a bottom-up approach which challenged both the capitalist and communist ways. In developed countries, those who advocated this approach in planning believed that collaboration among small communities can have great potential to enhance public management (Healey 2006). However, in developing countries this concept of self -governance has different implications; civil society was seen as provider of services that could be more efficient and relevant that those provided by the state (Jenkins and Smith, 2001a, drawing on Turner's writings on the conditions of self-help housing in the developing countries: Turner 1976, 1978, 1982, 1988).

Grindle (1996 pp 6-7) with reference to developing countries identified the different roles of civil society as the following:

- "Opposition to the state to transform the state and to open up the policy making process
- Negotiation and bargaining with the state, moving to citizenship through rights and obligations, as opposed to clientelism
- Substitution for the state
- Disengagement from the state e.g. informal economy and withdrawal from state related activity"

In addition, Ghusha-Pasha (2005) argued that civil society is the third sector in the governance process, which can have a positive impact on the other two sectors and on the governance process as a whole, and which thereby contributes to achieving good governance. Ghusha-Pasha (2005 p 3) explained the possible roles of civil society to achieve aspects of good governance as the following:

- Transparency: by policy analysis and advocacy;
- Effectiveness: by regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials;
- Openness: by building social capital and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms and democratic practices;
- Responsiveness: by mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections of the masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs;
- And accountability: by development work to improve the wellbeing of their own and other communities.

Moreover, community, which is part of civil society, is of great importance to urban governance and planning. The participation of community in the governance process has gained a global interest in the late 20th century influenced by liberal democratic policies in developed countries and by international development programmes in the developing countries (Connelly 2010). Healey (1996 p 244) put forward two meanings for community, in terms of spatial characteristics and in terms of shared stake characteristics respectively. The first defined community as "all those in a place who share a concern and/or are affected by what happens there". The second defined community as "all those who, directly or indirectly, have an interest in or care about what the people in the first community are doing in a place".

However, the participation of communities in the governance process depends upon representation of these communities. Connelly *et al* (2013) discussed problems of community representation in the governance process; he argued that this representation should be about 'meaning making' in the process and not only about having a 'voice'. He explained that the role of community varies in different contexts. In the context of 'powerful state' and 'powerless community' the effect of community participation is restricted (Pearce et al 2011 in Connelly *at al* 2013). Community representation should cover all groups in community, and not only those who usually engage in such activities, and it should consider the diverse forms of representation practices including informal ones; both formal and informal community views should be heard and should not be 'filtered' through 'disciplinary boundaries'; and practices of engaging of community should be ongoing and not limited to formal procedures in order to reflect the ongoing practices of representation and thus to fully understand the needs of the community (Connelly *at al* 2013).

Nonetheless, when civil society is not well represented, it might participate informally in the governance process. Thus, some authors have differentiated between formal and informal civil society (e.g. Carley 2001, Dorman 2007). The informal type of participation of the civil society can be usually seen with weak states where the state is unable to provide and where a formal form of participation is not available, which is a common characteristic in developing countries. Thus, despite Migdal's (1988) association of weak states with strong societies, it is vital to understand the form of participation of such societies. As discussed earlier, informal civil society participation

should not be mistaken as a sign of "popular expression", as it could be associated with an important, direct and indirect, role of the state (Dorman 2007, 2013).

Syria, which is the main focus of this research, is no different from other countries where the state has dominated civil society, which had a small role to play in development, both formally and informally.

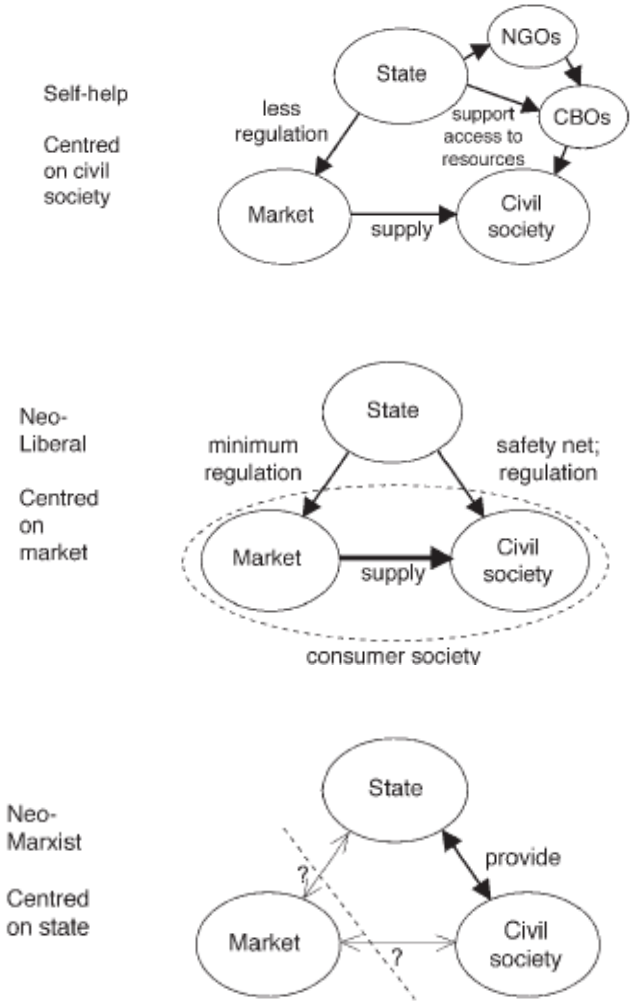

Figure 3.2 Roles of state, market and civil society according to the main theoretical approaches

Source: Jenkins and Smith (2001a p 488)

In conclusion, defining appropriate roles for these actors has always been a controversial issue. Shaw (1993) expressed the difficulty of allocating responsibilities to the private and public sectors: "[The] difference between public and private sector responsibilities seems, in practice, to be one of the less understood and more difficult aspects for those

involved from the private sector in such public sector committees and boards. Difficulties flow from what often appear to be dogmatic practices of public sector funding" (Shaw 1993). The relationship between the three main actors is complex and cannot be distinguished as they are affecting and affected by each other. However, in the developing world approaches to understand changes in social and political context tend to underestimate these relationships, neglect them or even completely miss the forces underlying such relationships (Migdal 1988 p 31 cited in Lambach 2004). Nonetheless, the recent widespread tendency is towards stepping away from the dominant role of the state to a wider involvement of the different stakeholders (the state, the market and civil society) in urban management (Smith 2004). The Marxist, anarchist and neo-liberal positions are now challenged by the contemporary institutionalist analysis and the communicative approach now emerging in planning theory (Healey 2006). The new institutional approach recognises the importance of interaction and of considering other aspects like 'traditions, habits, ideas and ideologies' (Jenkins and Smith 2001b). It emphasizes the different values of social groups and complex relationships between the state, the market and civil society, which integrate together through social networks and cultural assumptions and practices and have potential effect on decision making (Healey 2006, Jenkins and Smith 2001b). Some of the new changes was adopted in developing countries and Middle East ones, albeit, with many obstacle. This chapter identifies next different modes of governance and the importance of governance to urban development. It then discusses negative practices of old forms of governance and negative practices of shifting to new forms of governance.

3.3 Modes of governance

The literature reviewed above defined the main actors in the governance process and identified their main roles and relationships from different perspectives. Different modes of governance were identified, based on the different roles and relationships between these actors and different conceptualisations of governance structures related to policy instruments and implementation. Hall (2011 p 446) explained that "the different modes of governance are the relationships that exist between public and private policy actors and the steering modes that range from hierarchical top-down steering to non-hierarchical approaches". In this regard, a number of authors have produced different classifications of governance in different fields (see Kooiman 2003, Lowndes and Skelcher 1998,

Frances, Levačić, Mitchell, and Thompson 1991, Pierre 1999, Hall 2011, Pierre and Peters 2000, Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Healey 2006, Jain *et al* 2008, Silva and Syrett 2006). Table 3.1 provides a list of these different classifications.

Author	**Application**	**Modes of governance**
Kooiman(2003)	Social political governance	Self-governance, Co-governance and hierarchical governance
Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) Frances *et al* (1991)	Urban regeneration	Networks Hierarchy Market
Pierre (1999)	Urban governance	Managerial governance Corportaist governance Progrowth governance Welfare governance
Healey (2006)	Planning	Representitve democracy Corportaism Pluralism Clientalism
Jain *et al* (2008)	Transportation	The Traditional Public Ownership Central or Federal Government regulated transit systems Decentralized development through municipal authorities Corporatization models The Contemporary Privatization Models Vertical separation models Partial Privatization Models The Build Operate Transfer (BOT) Model
Silva and Syrett (2006)	Urban development	Public Finance Initiatives Public–public partnerships Municipal public enterprises Municipal associations
Hall (2011) Pierre and Peters (2000)	Tourism	Hierarchy Market Network community
Beaumont and Dredge (2010)	Tourism	a council-led network governance structure, a participant-led community network governance structure and a local tourism organisation-led industry network governance structure

Table 3.1 Classification of the different modes of governance

However, in relation to urban development and providing services and facilities, four broad modes can be seen to be relevant: First, the hierarchical governance mode which is a 'vertical' or 'top-down' mode of governance, with the state being the main actor (Kooiman 2003); second, the market governance mode which depends on the market as

the main actor responsible for resource allocation (Hall 2011); third, the self-governance mode which is the 'capacity' of the members of society to provide and sustain their autonomy, thus, society is the main actor (Kooiman 2003); and fourth, network governance, which is about the coordination of public and private interests and resource allocation; network can thus be seen as a middle way between hierarchical and market approaches to governance (Hall 2011).

In addition to these four modes of governance, collaborative or participatory governance, which is a relatively newly conceptualised mode of governance, is seen to be of great relevance. This mode emphasises not only the role of one or two actors but the involvement of all three main actors together. Collaborative governance according to Innes and Booher (2004) is a representative concept that allows for understanding elements of new governance among various governance fields; it is about active cooperation of all distinct stakeholders and mixing different resources to achieve common goals.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that in reality no one mode of governance can explain governance process, as different modes of governance can exist together at the same time or at different stages of the governance process. Many scholars emphasise the **dynamic** nature of governance. Paproski (1993 in Harpham and Boateng 1997) argued that the character of governance "varies and changes through processes". Pierre and Peters (2000) stated that "governance can be transformed from one mode to another searching for a more suitable mode of governance in order to meet the changing social, economic and political circumstances". Hall (2011) added that different governance modes can appear; overlap; and coexist through a partnership life cycle.

3.4 The importance of governance for achieving sustainable urban development

The previous section introduced the meaning of governance, its main actors and their main roles, and explained the changes in these roles and the different modes of governance, and highlighted the emergence of new governance as a solution to the failure in performance of some actors. This section explains the advantages of governance; it reviews research on the implications of governance for a sustainable development process.

Kardos (2012 p 1166) stated that "In a society still in search for solutions for sustainable development, good governance has always been recognized to be a critical tool for advancing sustainable development and a crucial element to be incorporated in sustainable development strategies. In this context, through its strategic mechanisms, good governance contributes to engagement for long-term commitment and strategic objectives, to policy coherence through vertical and horizontal coordination, to an open, transparent process of involving and consulting stakeholders and to bringing sustainable development strategies closer to local communities, to people."

The importance of the relationship between governance and urban development and sustainability is stressed by many authors and organizations. This relationship was first highlighted in the Brundtland report (WCED 1987) which identified that social organisation might lack the capacity to make sustainable development choices (Gilham 2010). Later on, in 1992 the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) (also known as the Rio Earth Summit) and Local Agenda 21 associated the sustainable development agenda with capacity building and other institutional issues (Gilham 2010). In 1998 Kofi Annan, the former secretary general of the UN, told world leaders: "Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development". Since then the concepts of governance and sustainability were often linked together. The work of the UN Commission on Human Rights also expressed the importance of good governance to 'prompting growth and sustainable human development' (UNHCR 2000). In 2002 the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) (also known as Rio+10) Johannesburg Plan of Implementation stressed the importance of good governance, at both national and international levels, for achieving the goals of sustainable development. In 2012 the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) (also known as Rio+20) again reemphasised the significance of governance to sustainable development: "We acknowledge that good governance and the rule of law at the national and international levels are essential for sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth, sustainable development and eradication of poverty and hunger. We reaffirm that to achieve our sustainable development goals we need institutions at all levels that are effective, transparent, accountable and democratic".

Many scholars have argued that implementing the principles of sustainable development entails various strategies, including collaborative governance. Kim (2010) cited the following authors: Wheeler (2004); Berke (2002); Jepson (2001); Innes and Booher 1999; Selman 1996; McDonald 1996; Shaw and Kidd 1996). Reid (1995 p 231) argued that "the process of sustainable development is not just about managing and allocating natural capital. It is also about deciding who has the power both to do this and to institute whatever social, economic and political reforms are considered necessary". Mitlin (2004) said that good governance can enhance economic growth; it can improve government performance, it can fulfil civil society's desire to participate in decision making and finally it can help in achieving local decision making. Moreover, participatory processes were seen as very important in order to achieve an 'inclusive city' (Mandeli 2008). Achieving sustainable development was seen to depend on the establishment of partnership between the three main sectors: the state, the market and civil society. The association between only two sectors, for example, the state and the market while not including civil society, will not result in sustainable development (Jenkins and Smith 2001a, Tas, Tas and Cahantimur 2009, Healey 2006-2007, Mandeli 2008).

3.4.1 Research on the impact of governance on delivering urban development and services

Having recognised the importance of governance to sustainable development, a handful of studies has focused on the impact of good governance on urban development and the delivery of various urban services in the built environment – for example the environment; urban design and planning; infrastructure; transportation and facilities at the neighbourhood level - as these are matters that unavoidably involve public, collective and regulatory action.

Siddiqi *et al* (2009) addressed that the governance process is seen to help in achieving better products and is claimed to have a great influence on how it could be 'harnessed' to achieve public goals, especially in many developing countries. Gilham (2010) stressed the relevance of a governance framework to improving the performance of policy makers and practitioners in achieving sustainable development in the built environment in both developed and developing countries.

A range of researchers have argued for the importance of governance as a main factor for achieving good planning. Healey (1996, 2006, and 2007) expressed this idea in her researches on planning as a product of governance. She argued that the quality of place and urban areas and the delivery of public interests have always been influenced by the form of governance (Healey 2007). Similarly, Madanipour, Hull and Healey (2001) expressed that governance is an important aspect of urban space.

Mandeli (2008, 2010) studied the relationship between the governance and urban development of Jeddah and found that participatory processes involving wider participation of different stakeholders are very important in order to achieve an inclusive city. He explained that the problem of public spaces is related not only to the way these spaces are designed but also to governance process over management of these spaces including the influence of the different stakeholders and regulation.

With regard to service delivery, the UNHCR (2000) argued that good governance through mechanisms like accountability and transparency can enhance the state's capacity to undertake its role in providing public goods and services and ensure that these are accessible and acceptable to all people. In addition many authors have stressed the importance of governance as a key element in providing and managing services. Harphman and Baoateng (1997) stated that responsibility for the provision of services has always been a controversial issue. Cavil and Sohail (2004) in their study of the impact of participatory governance on urban services[9] added that effective urban governance helps in achieving good quality infrastructure and sustainable service provision. Different authors have provided different approaches to good governance for service delivery: Yu and Karaos (2004) said that governance and a focus on community involvement in decision making would help to provide products that are more affordable, accessible and sustainable; Palmer *et al* (1997) in their research on facilitating people's participation in public-private partnership for solid waste management expressed the importance of participation among the private, public and community sectors for service delivery. They found that it is not enough to have public-private partnership. They argued that people can support the private sector through payment of service charges, and through improving

[9]Particularly refers here to water and sanitation, street cleaning, solid waste management, roads, community halls and street lighting

the accountability and the service quality of both public and private sectors. Likewise, Bhuiyan (2010) in his study of urban solid waste management in Bangladesh found that the city government should share the service delivery responsibility with the public and private sectors; he argued that a well-built public–private partnership can ensure effective solid waste management[10]. A similar approach was promoted by Cavil and Sohail (2004), who introduced participatory governance as an important factor for improving the delivery of urban services, with a special focus on the impact of strengthening accountability to achieve higher user satisfaction. However, they found that making providers more accountable has only marginally improved the performance of services. Kim and Dickey (2006) also focused on the participatory aspect in their research on the role of urban governance in the process of bus system reform in Seoul. They claimed that urban issues can be improved through an urban governance structure that promotes interdependence and participation of stakeholders and maintenance of an equal relationship with the formal urban government in order to cooperate, negotiate and reach a consensus (Kim and Dickey 2006 drawing on: Elander and Blanc 2001, Healey 1997, 1998, Healey *et al* 2005). However their research was on the role of specific organization as a form of urban governance. Tas *et al* (2009) in their research on a participatory governance model for the sustainable development of a heritage site in Turkey argued that achieving sustainable development of human settlements required effective decision making and the move from "government" to "governance", and they argued for the inevitability of partnership between central and local government, community, local organization, business and industrial organizations. They found that a participatory governance model for maintaining heritage management has supported sustainable development and is fundamental to generating strategies and policies for a sustainable future.

3.5 Negative effects of government and governance practices in socialist states and developing countries in the Middle East.

Following the above discussion of the importance of governance process in achieving sustainable development, especially in terms of emerging from the government system to

[10]This study has special focus on the role of facilitating agencies in achieving partnership between the stakeholders.

a wider governance one, this section discusses the negative effects of practice of government as governance and also negative effect of some practices of modern governance.

3.5.1 Old Governance practices (State Planning) in Eastern European and Middle Eastern socialist countries

In the development of socialist states such as those of Eastern Europe, the state aimed to be the dominant actor in the governance process, excluding other actors from the governance process. As a result of the socialist revolution, many countries were to apply socialist development models which shared universal characteristics. The socialization of the means of production and the accessibility of land for the needs of national economic development was a main characteristic shared by most socialist countries. This includes social ownership of land accompanied by rigid land and property rights; planned distribution of goods and exclusion of the market (Molodikova and Makhrova 2007).

Urban development and service delivery was part of this wider socialist economic development. Socialist state planners used to adopt rigid central planning based on Marxist theories (Fisher 1962 in Molodikova and Makhrova 2007). In many of the socialist cities a high level of urbanisation was to be achieved, but in most cases the state was unable to meet the social needs (housing and social services) of the unprecedented urban population (Molodikova and Makhrova 2007).

A wide range of literature has discussed planning and urbanization under the socialist planning principles. Berentsen (1992) and Bernhardt (2005) in their studies on Eastern German socialist cities recognised that the socialist urbanisation policies were to be applied in a model of planning was based on centralised planning, state ownership of land and goods and rigid planning laws and norms, usually imported from the Soviet Union. Implementation of these policies was to be made through five-year plans which was characterised usually by 'ambivalent' vision and affected by poor economic performance of the state (Bernhardt 2005).

Hirt and Stanilov (2007) in their study on residential development in socialist states in Eastern Europe expressed that as a result of the conditions of socialist planning, plans did not reflect realities. For example, in residential development which was to be developed

by the state as high density residential settlement with a wide range of community services, planned norms of community services was only provided, if at all, long after the occupation of the housing (Pacione 2005 in Molodikova and Makhrova 2007). A lot of details were dropped during the implementation process. The projects of residential settlements with a wide range of services and facilities ended up with poor quality and lacking sufficient services and infrastructure as planned (Hirt and Stanilov 2007). Hirt and Stanilov (2007 p 231) stated that "As the project of socialism itself, the socialist housing estates looked good on paper but dreadful in reality".

The poor quality and the inadequate implementation of plans were mainly attributed to the lack of sufficient funding, as government priorities in distributing resources were directed to industrialisation rather than high residential environment and to quantity rather than quality (Hirt and Stanilov 2007). In addition other obstacles were associated with the central planning and command driven system, public ownership of land and goods, and the dismissal of private enterprises.

In addition to urban development and housing provision, the socialist state aimed to provide a wide range of welfare facilities directed to all citizens; this was a main characteristics of the socialist state systems. The health service for example was one of the important welfare services. Burdumy (2013) discussed the conditions of health services in socialist East Germany and revealed that in practice the provision of welfare health services were unable to achieve the targets plans. Public health service in socialist East Germany was usually characterised by shortages of medicine; lack of qualified staff; unequal distribution as services were usually centralised in the big cities; inadequacy, as the ordinary citizens would have to wait a long time to get treatment; and poor maintenance. Burdumy (2013) claimed that reasons for this poor condition of welfare health services was mainly due to the strict adherence to the highly rigid and inefficient planned economy, which could not support the long-term investment in welfare measures because its performance differed significantly from theory. He argued that, in order to improve welfare services, a long term positive economic development must be achieved first.

Similar negative impacts of old forms of governance were shared by many developing countries. According to Stevens and Kennan (1992), comparison between socialist

countries and developing countries is valid despite having many differences as both socialist European countries and developing countries faced problems of distortion economies, domination of state on other actors of society. However, Stevens and Kennan (1992) saw that many developing countries had better established markets than Eastern Europe socialist states. Thus, in response to Stevens and Kennan (1992), the more appropriate comparison here might be with developing countries which adopted a socialist state system.

For example, Dorman (2007), and Ibrahim (2011), in their studies of informal settlements in Egypt, found that urban development after independence, was undertaken in a form of centralised state planning system. However, the Egyptian socialist state was unable to cope with the rapid growth and the huge urbanization (Dorman 2013, 2007, Ibrahim 2013). The state planning failed to provide housing and services for citizens (Dorman 2013). The state "was able to provide Egyptians with growth without equity, education without inspiration, employment without security, health services without care and voting without any real impact on political processes" (Ibrahim 2011 p 1). According to (Dorman 2013, 2007), the state lacked the 'infrastructural power' to implement its policies. Its top-down state planning was faced by the restrictions of the authoritarian state, disengagement of the state from society and shortages in financial resources. Consequently, master plans for cities was often not implemented while urban development continued in a neither 'mastered nor planned' way. Unplanned development accounted for more than 60% of urban development in Cairo. The state assumed that it was providing welfare services such as free education and free access to health care, however, in reality the quantity and quality of these services was inadequate. People still had to pay for private lessons in order to educate their children properly. Many people did not have access to proper health care (low number of health centres, inadequate working hours, lack of equipment and staff, careless staff, long waiting hours and crowded facilities (Ibrahim 2011). In general, in Egypt, there was a wide gap between the state policies (macro level trends reported by the state) and practices (micro level practices experienced by the poor) (Ibrahim 2011).

Another example of socialist state practices in the Middle East can be seen in Iraq. Research on urban governance in Iraq showed that the post colonised state adopted socialist state policies. Such policies aimed to provide welfare services and full employment for all people in the public sector, which put great pressure on the public

sector while it weakened the private sector. Consequently, it affected the economic productivity and resulted in weakening the private sector and its ability to practice in the development process (Al_Anani 2004). Moreover, "The statist, heavy-handed economic policies of the Ba'athist government concentrated much of Iraq's productive capacity in nationalized factors" (Loomey 2006 p 1). However, unlike other socialist countries in the region, the oil revenue compensated for the weakness in the political economy policies. Moreover, the political economic context of Iraq was strongly shaped by the war with Iran, which slightly affected the role of the private sector which was given a wider role to support the state. Nonetheless, similar to the Egyptian case, the decline of social capital under the socialist state policy encouraged the informal economy, albeit this was also influenced by other external and internal reasons, especially since the period of sanctions and the instability following the 2003 War (Loomey 2006).

The low performance of socialist urban planning (state planning) and service delivery could explain the large gap between policy and practice. It can be strongly attributed to the poor governance process in which the government is the main actor, and to the poor performance of the wider economy. However, socialist states were not the only ones experiencing governance problems. Lebanon, which has enjoyed a liberal economy after independence, till the 1970s was characterised by a severely imbalanced rate of development between Beirut (the capital) and other regions (El-Kak, Fawaz and Peillen 2003). Albeit that confidentiality of banking systems have encouraged investments from neighbouring countries, only the real estate and construction sector, in the capital city, were advantaged by these investments. The government hardly made any attempts to develop industrial and agriculture sectors, while the service sector was dominating economic development. The government also hardly made any attempts to develop social policies, thus it failed to provide growth with equity (Fawaz and Peillen 2003). However, religious, political and regional trouble played an important role in leading to Lebanon to civil war (1976-1991). The civil war significantly stripped the central state from its power and capacity to rule and to provide services to its people. Moreover, the war strongly devastated the social; 'economic; physical; political; administrative structures' of life. Such environment encouraged the thriving of the informal economy, which played an important role in urban development during the civil war time and after (Fawaz and Peillen 2000, Clerc 2012). The informal economy role was strongly evident in the

development of informal settlements which took place during the civil war period. The sectarian division and militants played a significant role in supporting informality, in addition to the state failure to accommodate the displaced and to protect land owners right during the war period (Clerc 2012).

Syria, which is the main focus of the present study, shares many of the negative characteristics of governance practices mentioned above. Nonetheless, such negative characteristics of governance practices pointed to the essential need to undertake reforms in these countries. However, applying such reforms is in itself associated with many problems.

3.5.2 Problems of shifting to modern governance

Despite the large number of studies discussing the advantages and attractiveness of modern governance to sustainable urban development, a few authors have also discussed negative effects of shifting to modern governance.

Stevens and Kennan (2000) identified that in general the 'conflicts' that occur between the aims of the new reforms and the interests of those who are responsible for implementing them are a main hindrance to achieving a full move to modern governance. Vasilevska *et al* (2014) argued that new forms of market-led urban development in post-socialist Eastern Europe countries accompanied by limited economic capacity of governments and other stakeholders would negatively affect urban development and provision of public spaces, and might even result in the absence of public and open spaces. Kereszte´Ly and Scott (2012) added that the shift to new forms of governance in post-socialist countries (Eastern and central Europe countries) usually takes place within a context of uncertainty, lack of fiscal resources and lack of political, social and economic stability. Thus, such reforms which targeted decentralisation, privatization and wider role of market in development resulted in the withdrawal of governments from their responsibilities, political and institutional fragmentation, 'speculative' forms of market-led development and also in strengthening state-linked elites and businesspeople. They noted that 'pre-prescribed' policies of national government, required to join the European Union and qualify for funding assistance, will not fit at local levels. Moreover, they found that the historical absence of the importance of social aspects in the socialist state planning system impeded the appearance of the 'social dimension' in the new reforms.

Ortiz-Gomez (2002) also found that new reforms including privatization of some service provision (specifically, shopping centres, schools, parks and urban recreation areas) and rationalisation of the market in Bogota caused negative impact.

Similar problems also faced the shift to modern governance in Middle East countries. (Dorman 2007, 2013) discusses the failure of the Egyptian state to achieve institutional and policy reforms required by the international donors. Such reforms were faced by many obstacles. Donors attempted to improve the state governance capacity and relationship with a more mobilised society was hindered by the 'logic of authoritarian power relationship' (top-down exclusion and privilege characteristics of the post-independence socialist state). The attempts to initiate a bottom-up approach to upgrading informal settlements was faced by strong control by government agencies favouring a top-down model. "Donors cannot buy policy change even when the amount of funding is substantial. Policy change comes about when the host country is convinced of the wisdom of policy change as it applies to their own political, economic and social conditions" (Dorman 2007 p 258). State officials resisted the new reforms where these were against their interests. New reforms tend to ignore a large part of society (e.g. informal market and informal civil society in Egypt). Moreover, the capacity of the donors to implement reform is not only restricted by the host country resistance, but the limit to which these reforms "jeopardise the political logics" of these countries (Dorman 2007). Thus, such reforms, similar to what Kereszté Ly and Scott (2012) found in eastern and central Europe, can sustain the power of political elites rather than empowering the different actors in society in general. In addition, Connelly (2010) discussed problems of public participation in modern governance in Egypt and found that it is difficult to achieve proper public participation in a politically difficult environment where the state does not welcome public participation. He found that in contexts like Egypt and South Africa for example, public participation initiated by international organization is restricted by many obstacles including being heavily dominated by the state and largely restricted by the 'formal institutions and the informal use of political power'.

Another example of failure to achieve modern governance can be seen In Lebanon. El-Kak (2000), in her study of urban development in the post-civil war period, argued that attempts to join the international changes and shift from 'perceptive planning' towards 'urban governance' after the civil war period was hampered by many obstacles. The

country's political economy was marked by sectarianism and clientalism while mechanisms to shape the relationship between the national, regional and local levels and between the different components of society (the state, market and civil society) were absent. Attempts to solve the imbalanced regional development in Lebanon were not accompanied by any social agenda. Urban development continued in an imbalanced pattern between the different regions and the urban and rural areas, with only a change in the hierarchy of the regions. "Planning policies were limited to being urgent management of urban services" (El-Kak 2000). Clerc (2012) added that decision taking of urban development projects, regarding dealing with informal settlements, after the war period was influenced by not only ideal conceptual planning, but also by decision makers' desire to gain political victories and by the judgement style bearing the concepts of 'justice, fairness sand legitimacy' which is affected by the personal view of the different actor based on their 'personal stake in the project and personal worldview'.[11] Such failure was not only evident in tackling informal development, but also formal. The formal private sector was controlled by post-war political elites and was mainly 'profit-oriented'. A large number of stakeholders was excluded from the process of decision making (Schmid 2005). Moreover, such elites were able to influence their decision on the weak state, which lost most of its authority during the civil war. Thus, polarization planning characterised the shift to new urban governance in Lebanon. Moreover, Bou Akar (2012) found that political and religious polarization were deeply rooted in governance processes in Lebanon. Some political and religious parties were in reality combining public and private actors, serving their supporters rather than civil society in general. Development led by such groups targeted political gains rather than sustainable development. Thus, urban development projects that were viewed by some as free market-led development were considered by others as a violation of formal planning. Thus, despite the historical wide role of civil society in the governance process in Lebanon, results of such participation seemed inefficient.

To conquer challenges of modern governance in general, Simpson and Chapman (1999 cited in Kim 2010) argued for a more coherent approach that would overcome institutional structure fragmentation and for taking account of the role of the private sector; gaining political and public support that includes empowering the different

[11] Dealing with informal settlement is undertaken to compensate for 'state failure ', provide access to the city to certain group of people and to provide social justice.

stakeholders; and finally for comprehensive and long term integration of the different stakeholders. Moreover, efforts should be made to build trust between the state and civil society (Alcantara 1998 in Kim 2010). In more detail, the solution to overcome negative aspects of privatization will be through paying attention to involving the community along with the private sector in an appropriate form of governance (Gomez 2002). For Mandeli (2008), in order to overcome the disadvantages of privatisation in Jeddah, it was also important to involve the various stakeholders in designing urban growth policies and defining priority tasks and actions through 'proactive strategies' rather than 'perspective statements' of urban development. To overcome negative impacts of market-led development, Vasilevska *et al* (2014) stressed the need for improving institutional and professional capacities; improving and clarifying legal planning frameworks, improving land acquisition laws and financial frameworks and finally providing new forms of public-private partnerships. On the other hand, El-Kak (2000) argued that to overcome the sectarian obstacles hindering urban development in Lebanon, there is an essential need to have a strong state that is willing and able to implement decentralisation and devolve power to regional and local authority, and redefine geographic boundaries, encourage the private sector to invest in the development process and empower civil society to create regional identity rather than a sectarian one. Nonetheless, Dorman (2007, 2013) and Connelly (2010) stressed the need to understand the broader political and institutional context within which such shifts are taking place. Dorman (2013) warned against mistaking the civil society initiative to resist the state for a bottom-up popular participation in governance. Connelly (2010) highlighted the need to adapt, rather than adopt, principles of public participation to suit these contexts.

From the above, it is clear that old and modern governance practices have been associated with damaging impact on development. Some of these negative outcomes have happened in socialist countries while others took place in countries with a different political-economy model. Syria, which is the main focus of this research, shared a lot of the governance problems discussed above. The social economic context and governance practices in Syria will be discussed in detail in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

3.6 Governance analysis

The above review showed that governance process has a great impact on achieving sustainable development. Thus, the understanding of how governance process is practised in providing local facilities can suggest ways to enhance the process of service delivery and thus enhance the impact of local facilities on sustainability. The literature also suggested that no one model of governance can explain the development process, as governance process depends upon many factors which play a role in shaping governance activities. Jusoh (2009 p 15) expressed that "since a process is hard to observe, governance process could be understood through focusing on governance system or framework upon which the process rests - that is, the agreements, procedures, conventions or policies that define who gets power, how decisions are taken and how accountability is rendered". This section reviews different approaches to analysing governance process introduced by different authors.

Healey (1991) identified four models of development process that should be applicable to all circumstances where development projects are taking place. These models are equilibrium models, event-sequence models, agency models and agency-structure model. Madanipour (1996) classified these models in two sets and added another model. The first set is of supply and demand models, and includes equilibrium models, event -sequence models, and agency models. The other set is of political-economic models, and includes the capital-labour model and the agency-structure model.

Healey (1991) and Madanipour (1996) criticised these models as not being able to illustrate the driving forces influencing the relationships between the main actors; each model is focused on specific issues while failing to address others.

Healey (1992) introduced an institutional model of the development process (drawing on a case study of urban redevelopment). Her model focused on the events and agencies. It understands development process combining structuring forces within the tradition of urban political economy with an appreciation of the detail of the social relations surrounding events in the development process. It involved four levels: "first, a description of events and agencies in the development process; second, identification of roles played by each of these agencies; third, an assessment of the strategies and interests which shape these roles, and how these are shaped by resources, rules and ideas; and

fourth, the relation between these resources, rules and ideas and the wider society of modes of production, regulations and ideology (Healey 1992 p 33). Her model aimed to "capture the detail of social relations of a development project, while linking this to broader issues at the level of macro-economic and political organization, without over formalizing the highly variable circumstances of specific projects and agencies" (Healey 1992 p 43). However, this model, according to Healey (1992), demands a lot of effort and can be dangerous if it involves looking at illegal activities.

Madanipour (1996) provided a model for analysing urban design as a product and a process at the same time concerning physical and social issues at macro and micro scales. It focused on analysing the agencies involved in the development and their individual actions; the structure which framed their actions; and the rationalities they used in undertaking these courses of action within the wider social and physical context. This model perceived the main components of governance process to be: the development agencies, the development factors (rules, resources and ideas) and their contexts.

Jenkins and Smith (2001b) introduced an institutionalist model to study the evolution of the planning process, which analyses institutions as mental models and organisational forms. Illustration of these two factors would result in better understanding of the performance of institutions, highlighting shortcomings and obstacles in policies and practices and will thus help to reach solutions to overcome the existing failures. This model is governance process focused: first, on the actors in the process - the state, the market and civil society – and on their different interests and relationships; second, on the institutions as 'mental models' - formal and informal frameworks affecting the process, and as 'organisational structure' – practices of relevant actors in the process shaped by the frameworks; and third on the relationship between local and global contexts.

Healey (2007) introduced a model for analysing governance performance in spatial planning. Her model unpacked governance into three levels. The first level is the level of specific episodes, where many actors are interacting in arenas and institutional sites. Each has a specific role, interest and strategy. The second level is the governance process level, which is about the networks through which governance is performed. It is also about the discourses and practices of those who are involved in resource distribution and governing.

However, discourses and practices might either work together or lead separate ways. The third level is about governance culture, from which people involved in governing derive their meaning and legitimacy.

Haddad (2009) applied an institutional approach to analysing the process of producing urban development, particularly public spaces in Syria, focused on analysing the actors concerned (including their responsibilities and capacities), the rules (including geographic scope of responsibilities, laws, regulations and procedures), and the rationales (including perception and attitudes of the relevant actors).

Dredge and Whileford (2011) introduced an approach to understanding the features of governance – in particular the role of the public sphere in facilitating the sustainable planning and management of tourism events. They provided a framework for analysing governance process focused on: institutional context; issue drivers and influences that affect the process; the range of different actors and agencies that participate in the process and their relational characteristics. They thus developed an appreciation of the public sphere and how it forms the space of dialogue, communication and information-sharing. Moreover, this framework incorporates an appreciation of the influence of historical decisions as events and circumstances change over time. It also incorporates an appreciation of the interrelationship between micro and macro scales.

Table 3.2 summarises the analytical frameworks identified in the review above.

Authors/Sources	Analytical framework
Source: Healey (1991), Madanipour (1996)	Equilibrium models Development activities are focused supply and demand and are structured by economic factors.
	Event sequence model Evaluation, preparation, implementation and disposal.
	Agency model The actors, the relationships between them, the roles they play and the strategies they follow.
	Capital-labour model: The process and its actors through which markets are structured.
	Structure and agency model: agencies and their relationships (The main actors in this model are the state, the finance sector and the industrial construction sector)

Healey (1992)	Institutional model focused on the events and agencies and involving four levels: • first, a description of events and agencies in the development process; • second, identification of roles played by each of these agencies; • third, an assessment of the strategies and interests which shape these roles, and how these are shaped by resources, rules and ideas; • and fourth, the relation between these resources, rules and ideas and the wider society of modes of production, regulations and ideology
Madanipour (1996)	Institutional model for analysing urban design as a product and a process concerning physical and social issues at macro and micro scales. • the agencies involved in the development and their individual actions; • the structure which frames their actions; • and the rationalities they use in undertaking these courses of action within the wider social and physical context
Jenkins and Smith(2001b)	• The relationships between the state, the market and civil society. • The institutional structure (mental models and organization). • The local and global context.
Healey (2007)	Institutional model focused on three levels of governance performance Specific episodes • Actors, roles, strategies, interests • Arenas-institutional sites Governance processes • Networks and coalitions • Discourses-languages, metaphor, derived from frames of reference • Practices Governance culture • Range of accepted mode of governance • Range of embedded cultural values • Formal and informal processes of critique through which governing processes are rendered legitimate
Haddad (2009)	Institutional model focused on: • Actors: role; responsibility; capacity • Rules: geographical area of responsibilities; legislation and procedures; financing • Rationale: perception, attitude
Dredge and Whileford (2011)	Institutional model focused on: Institutional context • Roles and responsibilities of the state • Rules, routines and processes shaping events Issue drivers and influences • Internal and external social, economic, political, environmental and technological factors Actors, agencies and their relational characteristics; • Government, business interests and communities of interests Public sphere. • Roles of stakeholders in creating and shaping the public sphere • Influence of public sphere in shaping discursive practices and participation

Table 3.2 Different approaches to analysing the governance process

3.7 Towards an analytical framework for analysing governance process in delivering local facilities in Syrian residential neighbourhoods

The above review showed a wide consensus that a comprehensive approach to understanding governance process in urban development can be achieved through identifying stakeholders involved in the governance process and how these are influenced by wider structural forces. This concept provided a base for an analytical framework to be used in this research to analyse the process of delivering local facilities in Syrian neighbourhoods within the wider social, economic and political context of Syria.

In this research governance process will be analysed focused on six main aspects which are grouped in two categories:

The first is the stakeholders involved in the process which include:

- The full range of actors responsible for the provision of local facilities from the state, market and civil society sectors;
- The direct and indirect roles they play in the provision process; and
- The relationships among those actors which affect the roles they play.

The second is the institutional factors which include:

- The rules over governance process which includes: planning laws and legislatives frameworks and procedures that define the roles and relationships of the actors and the resources available for them;
- The resources that flow in the process including finance and information and finally;
- The rationalities of actors that define their actions in the provision process.

However, the different elements of the framework are interrelated and overlapping as the roles and relationships of the different actors are affected by the institutional factors,

while these factors, at the same time, affect and are affected by each other. For example the rationalities of the stakeholders that result are not only subject to the personal and social behaviour of the actors, but are also influenced by the rules and resources controlling the process.

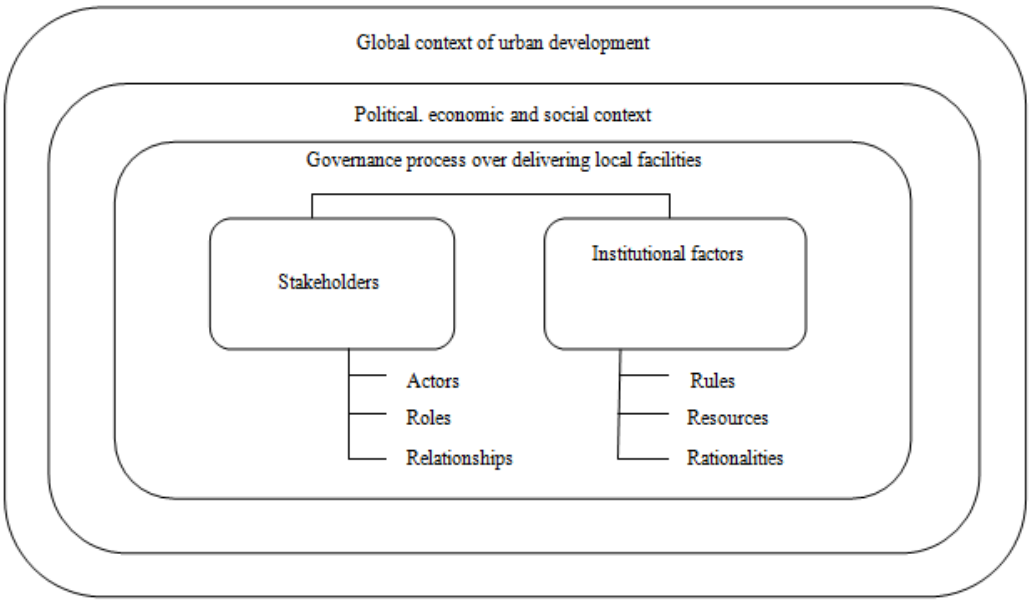

Figure 3.3 The research analytical framework for understanding the governance process over delivering local facilities

This analytical framework will be used to analyse the governance process in delivering local facilities in the selected case study neighbourhoods in Syria. A review of the context of Syria is undertaken in chapter five followed by detailed analysis of three case study neighbourhoods in the city of Aleppo in chapter six.

A diagram based on Smith (1999) is developed to analyse elements of governance process (actors; roles; relationships and resources) for each type of facility in the three case study neighbourhoods. The actual application of the diagram shown in Figure 2-4 is provided in chapter six.

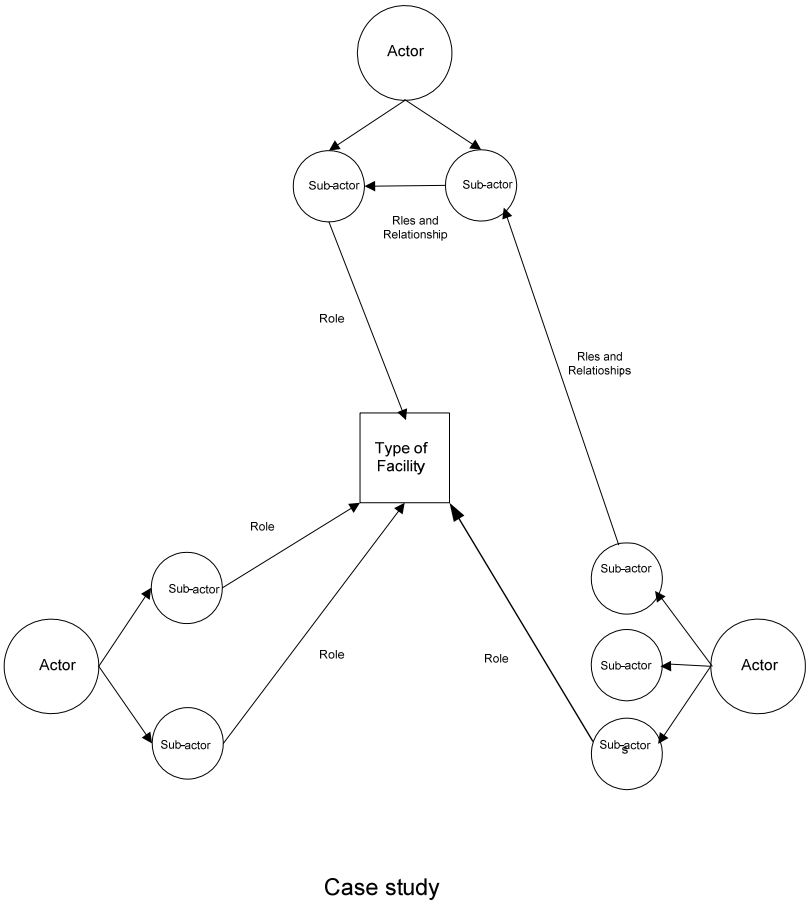

Figure 3.4 Example of the diagram used to analyse the governanace process

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a literature review on the implication of governance process for neighbourhood sustainability. It showed that the concept of governance is hard to define as it depends upon many aspects which influence the different definitions of governance. It discussed that the relationships between the different actors have changed over time, affecting the meaning of the concept of governance. It also explained that no one mode of governance can explain governance process as different modes of governance can exist at the same time or can overlap over time. A new concept of governance was viewed as the nexus between the government and non-governmental forces involved directly or indirectly in the governance process. Finally it revealed that understanding the governance process is of great importance to improving urban development. Achieving full understanding of the governance process would require understanding the global

contextual conditions in order to identify the local conditions in the particular governance context; it also incorporates appreciation of the stakeholders involved in the process and the institutional factors affecting the process. Based upon the literature review introduced in this chapter, a framework is proposed for analysing the governance process in delivering local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria.

This framework and the framework developed in Chapter 2 are used to analyse the implications of governance process in the delivery of local facilities for neighbourhood sustainability in Syria as both a process and an outcome.The application of these frameworks is further explained in chapter four, the research methodology, under data analysis methods. The following chapter four discusses the chosen methodology for this research, data collection and data analysis methods and the limitations of the research.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters presented a review of the main theories of sustainable urban development and urban governance and revealed the importance of studying governance as a main component of achieving sustainable development. It also developed analytical frameworks used by the researcher to answer the research questions.

This chapter introduces the methodological approach employed in addressing the research questions outlined earlier in chapter 1. The chapter first describes the main research paradigms (knowledge claim approaches), the different strategies of enquiries, and presents the approach to the methodology applied in this research. The chapter then explains the case study approach applied in this research in three case study neighbourhoods in Aleppo to explore the relationship between neighbourhood sustainability and governance processes. It discusses the criteria used in the selection of the three case study areas and it explains how the case studies were conducted. Finally, the chapter discusses the limitations of this research.

4.2 Theoretical perspectives (positivist relativist and critical realism knowledge claims)

In studying social science, the position of the human subject and researcher and the status of the social phenomenon are critical factors: "Is human society subject to laws that exist independent of the human actors that make up society, or do individuals and groups create their own version of social forces?" (Walliman 2011a p 21). In relation to this concept, two major research paradigms can be identified as: the positivism and relativism paradigms, in addition to a middle way approach between the two paradigms (Walliman 2011a).

4.2.1 Positivism and postpositivism

Positivism is "the application of the natural sciences to the study of social reality. An objective approach that can test theories and establish scientific laws. It aims to establish causes and effects."(Walliman 2006 p 15). A positivist approach to the

Absolute truth of knowledge believes that, irrespective of what people think, the world around us is real and its features are true. They think that finding out about these realities can be sought through scientific methods based on physical experience (Walliman 2011a). Their approach is reductionist, they see objectivity in research and believe that by using 'theory to generate hypotheses' it is possible to recognise systematic relationships between social phenomena (Grix 2010, Walliman 2011a). However, this approach has been challenged by many scholars. For example, Mark (1993 p 209-210) criticised this approach for the following:

- It does not provide an accurate view of reality - it does not explain the multifaceted patterns and impacts in human interactions.
- Knowlege provided by postivistic research is often so limited that it can be of limited application in the real world.
- Positivistic research is often insensitive to oppressed groups' views.
- Positivistic research is not value free -researchers often reflect their own values while failing to reflect the values of those they study.
- Positivism makes all phenomena subject to a single set of laws, which is impossible.
- Postivism stresses that time and context are value-free, which is not true.

Furthermore, the traditional postivist approach was later challenged by **postpositivism** (Phillipa and Burbules 2000 in Creswell 2003). The postpostivists understand that claims of knowledge cannot be absolutely true when this involve people's behaviour and action (Creswell 2003). Postpositivists believe that causes influence outcomes and that these can be studied through experiments. Postpostivists seek objectivity: research should be based on observation and measurement while methods and conclusions should be examined for bias. Their approach is reductionist – ideas should be reduced into a small separated set of ideas while a series of rational phases are used to examine the different variables. Postpositivists accept that, rather than a single absolute truth, there are several perspectives from participants. They adopt rigorous methods of qualitative data collection and analysis and use multiple levels of data analysis rigour (Creswell 2013).

However, the term 'postpositivism' is sometimes used to refer to a range of different paradigms that flourished after the decline of the positivist paradigm during the 1970s (Cruickshank 2012).

4.2.2 Relativism

According to Walliman (2011a) the significant alternative approach to research is the **relativist** approach, which is also called **interpretism, idealism, constructivism** or even **contructionism.** Realitivism is the recognition that subjective meanings play a crucial role in social actions. It aims to reveal interpretations and meanings (Walliman 2006). Relativists recognise that the world around us is real, but we can only experience it personally through our perception, which is influenced by our beliefs and values. Relativists do not ignore what is subjective -facts cannot be separated from values. For relativists, the researcher's job is not to observe a phenomenon from the outside or to discover universal laws, but to explore the human situations within the phenomenon and interprete this according to the meaning created by humans; thus, more than one perspective on and interpretation of a phenomenon can exist (Walliman 2011a).

Issue	Positivist	Relativist
Philosophical basis	Realism: the world exists and is knowable as it really is	Idealism : the world exists but different people construe it in very different ways
The role of research	To discover universal laws and generalizations	To reveal different interpretations of the world as made by people
Role of researcher	Neutral observer	Part of the research process
Theoretical approach	Rational, using scientific methods and value free data	Subjective, using inductive methods and value laden data
Methods	Experiments or mathematical models and quantitative analysis to validate, reject or refine hypothesis	Surveys and observations with qualitative analysis to seek meaningful relationships and the consequences of their interactions. Analysis of language and meaning

Analysis of society	Search for governed society is governed by a uniform set of values and made possible by acceptance of these values	Search for dynamics, multitude of values leading to complex interactions, society made possible by negotiation

Table 4.1 Comparison between positivism and relativist approaches
Source (Walliman 2011a p 23 based on Cohen and Manion 1994)

4.2.3 Critical realism

With the decline of logical positivism by the end of the 1950s many scholars sought to to find a middle way between the positivist and relativist approaches with the conception that scientific knowledge goes beyond both approaches (Laudan 1996). **Critical realism** was introduced as an alternative to the two contrasted approaches; this (reconciliatory) approach took a more comprehensive and systematic view of the relationship between the natural and social sciences (Walliman 2011b). It understands the relationship between individuals and the society as a transformation model of social activity, where both individuals and society are affecting and affected by each other. Critical realism distinguishes between facts and values. Critical realists understand that 'natural order' exists in social events, which can be understood through considering both facts and values. Researchers thus can understand these events through undertaking careful observation of them, accompanied by ongoing interpretation process (Walliman 2011b). The researcher's job in this approach is "more about constructing narrative rather than discovering the truth through using qualitative research to understand the reality constructed by the group studied, rather than claiming to discover the truth about the group" (Cruickshank 2003 p 1). Social realists believe that "variables are always conceptual interpretation, while correlation between these variables is considered as description rather than causal explanation in itself; correlations between variables are contingent effects of undergoing causal process" (Cruickshank 2003 p 2). For critical realists, the research process is of great importance to apprehend the relationship between reality and the concept of this reality (Danermark 2002).

The present researcher agrees with the criticism of the positivist approach to undertaking social research, and shares the views of those who argue for a middle path, between positivism and relativism, to undertake social research. This research follows the critical realism (reconciliatory) approach mixing both objective and subjective approaches for

data collection and analysis. Obejective approach, is used to describe local facilities (based on direct observation of these facilities) and to identify general planning governance in principle (based on analysis of documents). Subjective approach is used to reconstruct the governance process over delivering these facilities and the impact of this on social sustainability in practice (based on stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes and based on analysis of empirical data). In terms of analysis, a qualitative approach is adopted to analyse data on the governance processes while a more quantitative approach is adopted in analysing data on the impact of these on sustainability.

4.3 Strategies of inquiry (qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodology)

Research methods can be classified into two kinds: a process-driven qualitative method and an outcome-driven quantitative one (Yin 2003, Walliman 2011b).

During the 19th and throughout the 20th century, **quantitative research** was the main approach to strategies of inquiry (Creswell 2003). It was the foundation for the advancement of natural science (Mark 1996). In this approach the researcher often makes knowledge claim based on postpositivists perspectives involving measurements, observation and testing of hypotheses through experiments and surveys (Creswell 2003). However, researchers found the quantitative approach insufficient for understanding social phenomena and began to use the qualitative approach. Thus, the qualitative approach evolved mainly through the development of social science in the 1920s and 1930s (Mark 1996).

In general, **qualitative research** helps researchers understand real-life events (Berg 2007).In qualitative research, the researcher often makes a knowledge claim based primarily on a constructivist perspective involving multiple interpretations of individual experiences and social or historical event through narrative; phenomenologist; case studies etc. Methods used can also involve: observation, documentary analysis and historical analysis (Berg 2007).The researcher aims to construct 'themes' from the data emerging through the research process (Cresswell 2003).

The two approaches differ not only in terms of methods of data collection and analysis, but also in terms of epistemology (Walliman 2011b).

Table (4.2) provides a summary of the main differences identified by Bryman (2012) in terms of orientation, epistemology and ontology between the quantitative and qualitative researches.

	Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research	Deductive, testing of theory	Inductive, generation of theory
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model, in particular positivism	Interpretivism
Ontological orientation	Objectivism	Constructivism

Table 4.2 The main differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches
Source Bryman (2012 p 36)

However, despite the major differences between the two approaches, it is important to note that there are also researchers that do not fully follow one of the two approaches or integrate the two. Thus, while it is useful to differentiate between the two researches strategies, it is necessary to be careful about drawing a rigid distinction between them. Quantitative research can be carried out from an interpretative perspective, while qualitative research can be carried out from a natural science perspective; a mixed approach can be used when quantitative methods of data collection and analysis are used in qualitative research and vice-versa (Walliman 2006, Bryman 2012).

The mixed method approach

Johnson *et al* (2007 p 129) defined mixed methods research as "an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm (along with qualitative and quantitative research). It recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results".

According to Bryman (2012) the mixed approach is becoming far more common with the rise of the perception that research methods are not encumbered by epistemology or ontology; quantitative research has been accepted by some research paradigms that used to reject it (e.g. the feminist paradigm). Greene (2008 p 42) observes that: "typical of this

was the idea that qualitative methods were good at gathering data on some aspects of human behaviour, and quantitative methods were good for gathering data on other aspects of human behaviour" . The new 'complementarity' approach, thus, rejected the dichotomy between the qualitative and quantitative approaches which believe that researches with a specific 'methodological tradition' can only be approached using methods related to this tradition (Greene 2008). Sieber (1973 cited in Johnson *et al* 2007 p 115) explained benefits of using mixed methods approach at different stages of the research process:

- At the research design stage: qualitative data can support quantitative one in developing 'concepts and instruments' to undertake the research, on the other hand, quantitative data can support qualitative one by identifying'representative samples'.
- At the data collection stage quantitative data can provide a starting point for data collection. while qualitative one can enable the collection of data.
- At the data analysis stage, qualitative data can help in 'interpreting' and 'validating' the data while quantitative one can help in 'generalising' the results

However, the use of mixed methods should be carefully considered. According to Bryman (2012) a mixed method approach must like other approaches:

- be carefully designed and conducted
- be suitable to the research question
- Consider the relationship between the research questions and research methods
- Consider the relationship between qualitative and quantitative features of the research and how these incorporate with the findings
- provide adequate methodological details of each feature of the research
- Consider limitation in resources and training skills of the researcher carefully.

In this study, the researcher agrees with those scholars who believe that "within each paradigm, mixed methodologies (strategies) may make perfectly good sense" Guba and Lincoln (2005 p 200), and that there is no universally better approach to research than another, but that one approach may be more relevant than another to a given case (Grix 2010). This research thus uses a number of data collection and data analysis methods that are believed to be best for answering the research questions. The methods used in this research are mainly qualitative but also quantitative. The focus of this research is on two main aspects. Firstly, it emphasises understanding the governance process of delivering local facilities. This is analysed mainly on the basis of qualitative primary data, and also quantitative secondary data, which are used in reviewing the literature on the context of the case studies. Secondly, it emphasizes analysing the impact of this provision on sustainability at the neighbourhood level, where material outcomes are looked at in

quantifiable terms but based mainly on residents' perception analysed on basis of qualitative data. The specific data collection and data analysis methods are further explained in this chapter. The following section presents the case study approach as the main research approach use in this study.

4.4 Case studies

A case study can be considered as a strategy of inquiry, a method, or a comprehensive research strategy (Denzin and Lincolin 2005, Merriam 1998, Yin 2009 in Creswell 2013). Some believe that case studies are only appropriate to the exploratory phase of investigation and preliminary research and that they cannot be used to describe or test propositions (Shaveson and Townes 2002 in Yin 2003), while others argue that case study is a valid method for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory purposes (Yin 1981a and b, in Yin 2003). However, the case study approach is considered by many scientists as a valid strategy to achieve empirical work (Yin 2003). In a case study approach the researchers can apprehend the characteristics of real life events like organizational and managerial processes, neighbourhood changes and others (Yin 2003). Moreover, a case study approach can be used to answer 'how and why' questions when studying a' contemporary' set of events over time where the researcher has little or no control over them; it is able to identify the key actors involved in and their perceptions and attitude (Yin 2003, Flyvbjerg 2011). Moreover, Swanborn (2010 p 13) argued that case studies can be used to analyse a phenomena in the past if a 'retrospective' approach is applied, however, 'observation as a research technique is excluded'. He also added that "the fact that researchers have no control over actual behavioral events is less relevant with respect to descriptive purposes".

Crow *et al* (2013 p 38) reviewed four main reasons for the use of case studies especially as part of critical realism approach and in order to understand social phenomenon like governance process which is a dynamic phenomenon:

- The use of case studies in critical realism approach is considered to be strongly valid especially to "develop theories".
- The use of case studies is valid in undertaking in depth analysis of "a complex socially dynamic phenomenon with many relationships and variables" This is especially important in complex contexts where experimental methods are not valid.
- The use of case studies are appropriate to answer "how" and "why" questions and to explain current events.

- The use of case studies allow "better understanding of the social life events as the researcher is very close to the studies events, which is ideal when it is difficult to separate between the contexts and events" (Crow *et al* 2013[12])

However, the case study approach requires detailed, in-depth data collection, involves multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case study themes (Yin 2003, 2009, Creswell 2013). Thus it can achieve full understanding of the context and process of the case study and the causes of the events and how these causes are related to each other and to the final product of the process (Flyvbjerg 2011). Therefore, case studies are able to generate new hypotheses to be tested and reformulated using other case studies (Flyvbjerg 2011).

On the other hand, using a case study approach was criticised for many issues. Yin (2003) and Flyvbjerg (2011) summarised different points that the case study approach was associated with as follows: case studies can be biased; limited in terms of generalization (Yin 2003); too long, require a lot of hard work and can result in immense amounts of unreliable data that are difficult to summarise (Yin 2003); "weak understanding of occurrence in the population of the phenomenon under study"; and statistical significance can be absent or vague (Flyvbjerg 2011 p 314). Flyvbjerg (2011) discussed five misunderstandings regarding disadvantages of the case study approach. He argued that: first, case study knowledge can be more valuable than general theoretical ones; second, it is possible to generalise from case studies; third, case studies can be useful in generating and testing hypotheses; fourth, the case study is not more biased than any other research method; it is even more likely for researchers in case study approaches to end up with the falsification of their own ideas; finally, although it is difficult to summarise from case studies with regard to the process, it is less difficult in terms of the outcome; however, good studies should not be summarised and generalised from; rather they should be read as 'narratives in their entirety'. Appendix (4-1) provides a detailed discussion of the Flyvberge argument regarding misunderstandings of the case study approach.

In addition to the above, some scholars noted that case study research can be undertaken in different levels (e.g. Grix 2010, Swanborn 2010), however, this requires the researcher to be conscious of the relationship between the type of study and the level and unit of

[12] Based on Easton, 2010; Bryman & Bell, 2007; Darke, Shanks, & Broadbent, 1998; Eisenhardt, 1989; Ragin & Amoroso, 2011; Yin, 1984, 2002, 2009; Hillebrand, Kok, & Biemans, 2001; Johnston, Leach, & Liu, 1999; Chetty, 1996; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007)

analysis. Grix (2010) identified two levels of analysis in human science as: micro- level, individual or actor-centred, and macro- level, system or structure-centred while Swanborn (2010) added an intermediate level which is the meso level. Grix (2010) explained that adopting different levels of analysis (multilevel analysis) would offer a richer account of specific events; it entails a clear awareness of the level the research is dealing with throughout the research process. Moreover, in social research some scholars focus on structure, while other tends to focus on agency; some see that the social context influences the action of the individuals, while others believe that individuals' actions are what influence their social context. However, it is essential to treat structure and agency as one entity as they are both influenced by and influencing each other; the focus should be on both of them and on the interrelationship between them (Hay 2002 in Grix 2010)

Following the above discussion, a case study approach is seen to be appropriate to undertake this research, taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of this approach. This research adopts a case study approach in order to explore how and why the governance process for providing local facilities in Syrian neighbourhoods was taking place over time; it entails in-depth analysis of the selected case study neighbourhoods focused on the stakeholders and the institutional factors within the wider social, economic and political context. On the other hand, this research requires in-depth analysis of the impact of this provision on five main aspects of sustainability based on perception of residents in the case study neighbourhoods.

4.5 Methods of data collection

A mixed approach

The case study approach is the main research strategy used, at different levels, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data are used in the study of macro level issues, these being mainly secondary data. Qualitative data are used to develop understanding of the governance process over delivering local facilities in the case study areas and to evaluate the impact of these on sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The main contribution of this research is in terms of the primary data, which are mainly qualitative.

Data collection methods used in this research are: literature review, case studies, direct observation, and in-depth and semi-structured interviews.

4.5.1 Literature review and grey literature

Literature review is an important part of research. Research does not exist in isolation but it is a part of a wider picture; literature review contextualises the research and provides a background and space for it (Ridley 2012). It also positions the research in relation to what is already known.

The literature in this research draws on two main bodies of literature.

The first part of the literature focused on the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability, a wide range of literature is available in terms of the concept of sustainable development and sustainable neighbourhoods in general. The differences that might occur with regard to both developed and developing country perspectives are also discussed in terms of sustainable development in general. The focus of the first part of the literature, however, is associated with the research objective specifically focused on the impact of local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The literature reviewed different studies that were concerned with neighbourhood sustainability in general and recognized the provision of local facilities as an important factor for providing sustainability in general and social sustainability in particular. It then identified a range of aspects of sustainability at the neighbourhood level that could be affected by the provision and actual use of local facilities. And finally, concluded with developing a framework for measuring the impact of local facilities specifically on social sustainability based on five main aspects that were expected to be more relative to social sustainability in Syrian neighbourhoods which are: accessibility and usage; travel mode; social interaction; safety and security and sense of place.

The second part of the literature focused on the implication of governance processes over delivering local facilities for neighbourhood sustainability. Literature on these specific issues is limited. However, there is literature available on implications of governance for achieving sustainable development in general and also for achieving some urban services in particular. On the other hand, with regard to the governance process, theoretical issues of governance process have been defined analytically and discussed mainly in Western-based writing. However, these approaches have in fact also underpinned practice in urban intervention in developing countries. Some research was discussed in the literature review focused on governance practices in developing countries. The second part of the literature, thus, concluded with developing a framework to analyse the governance

process in Syria. The framework was mainly adapted from Madanipour's (1996) study on urban governance in Iran. A similar framework was also tested in studying the process of delivering public spaces in Damascus/Syria (Haddad 2009). Thus, adaptation of a similar framework was seen to be appropriate for the purpose of analysing the governance process for providing local facilities in Syrian neighbourhoods.

In terms of the background information of the case study areas and the context of Syria, a more specific literature review was undertaken. Sources included two types of literature: first, books and academic journals on history and urban development in Syria. Sources for this literature were both Arabic sources obtained during the field trips to Syria and sources available online, and also English sources available in British libraries and online. Second, grey literature of policy statements and issues papers including pre-publication versions, evaluation reports made by government agencies and international agencies, minutes of meetings from public and community organizations, project reports, maps, surveys, census and academic theses and dissertations (undertaken mainly by Syrian postgraduate students studying in Syria and in UK). Sources for this literature were obtained mainly during the field trips.

Documents and publications obtained in Syria were available from the following sources:

- University of Aleppo Central Library
- School of Architecture/ University of Aleppo library
- Syndicate of Engineers Library (Aleppo)
- The library of AlAdia'at Association
- Residents Committees (RC) and Neighbourhoods Committees (NC)

Government sources:

- The General Company for Engineering Studies and Consulting (GCEC Aleppo),
- General Company of Military Housing GCMH
- Aleppo City Council
- Aleppo Governorate
- Ministry of Local Administration and Environment MLAE
- State Planning Commission SPC
- Directorate of Education; Directorate of Health; Union of Women, Workers' Union; Directorate of Awqaf,
- Local Service Directorates in the case study areas

Most of these publications and documents were supplied through government officials, professionals and academics throughout the two field trips.

4.5.2 Case study

A case study approach was adopted as the main part of the research approach taken to understand how and why the provision of local facilities is influencing social sustainability in residential neighbourhoods in Syria, in order to answer the main question of the research concerning- how the governance process over delivering local facilities can be improved to promote better sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

The implication of governance processes for achieving sustainable development, focused on different aspects of urban development, is addressed in a body of literature. While the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability has been discussed mainly as part of studies on sustainable urban forms and social equity, there are very limited studies available on the implication for neighbourhood social sustainability of governance processes of delivering local facilities. This research attempts to address this gap by undertaking three case studies in the city of Aleppo. The three case studies are used to explore the relationship between governance process of delivering local facilities and the impact of this provision on sustainability in Syrian neighbourhoods, using the analytical frameworks developed in Chapter 2 and 3 in order to make recommendations improving governance process and thus improving sustainability.

The researcher, thus, believed that the case study approach is appropriate for the purpose of this research in accordance with Yin's (2003) view that a case study methodology is an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2003 p 13) and when researchers have little control of these events (Yin 2003). This research uses case studies to investigate complex issues such as the relationship between sustainability at the neighbourhood level and governance. "The implication of governance process to neighbourhood social sustainability" is the contemporary phenomenon under investigation and the aim is to understand the significance of governance process to achieving neighbourhood social sustainability within the political economic context of Syria. Moreover, undertaking the case studies approach should be underpinned by knowledge of the wider context: social concepts and relational geography generating and constructing the events in the case study areas (Smith 1999). Thus the case studies focused on governance process, with specific relevance to

the stakeholders and the institutional factors, and the impact of these on five main aspects of social sustainability within the wider social, political and economic context of Syria.

The researcher selected the three case study neighbourhoods within the city of Aleppo. Thus, the case studies are limited geographically to the city of Aleppo, however, they are used as illustrative material that shows how governance process over delivering local facilities has affected sustainability in residential neighbourhoods in Syria. The in-depth analysis of the case study areas underpinned by the analysis of the wider national context within which they are located allowed for drawing general conclusions that are subject to refinement in the light of similar case studies.

The city of Aleppo was chosen on the one hand because it is the largest city in Syria and the second most important city after the capital Damascus. In addition, Aleppo is the researcher's own home town and where she previously studied and worked. This helped the researcher get more intimate and open access to interviewees through friends and colleagues working as government officials. However, it must be acknowledged that only a very small proportion of interviewees were acquaintances of the author.

The three case study areas were chosen for several reasons. In the first place, the three case study neighbourhoods are of the relatively new, built, serviced and occupied, formal neighbourhoods[13] in Aleppo and therefore they reflect the recent changes in governance process over delivering local facilities. At the same time, they are occupied by residents, which is very important for the purpose of analysing the impact of local facilities on sustainability at the neighbourhood level based mainly on views of residents in these neighbourhoods. Secondly, they have different socio economic conditions: upper middle income, middle income and lower middle income. This variety serves to illustrate whether different approaches to socio economic conditions have affected the process of delivering local facilities undertaken by the three main actors: the state, the market and civil society. Moreover, this variety serves to illustrate whether the different socio-economic conditions affected residents' perception of the impact of these facilities on neighbourhoods' social sustainability. Finally, they have a slight difference in actors involved in the development process of the neighbourhoods which supposedly affect the

[13] Developing formal residential neighbourhoods in Syria is usually undertaken over long period of time which might reach up to thirty years as shown in the case study chapters.

provision process of local facilities. This, in return, creates different approaches from government towards different participants in the provision of local facilities, which is illustrated in the case studies.

4.5.3 Observation and physical survey

Making a field visit to the case study area can create the opportunity for direct observation where relevant behaviour and environmental conditions are available for observation, and thus it will make a useful source of evidence in case studies. Participant observation on the other hand is a technique where the observer is not merely passive but assumes a variety of roles within a case study situation and may participate in the events being studied. In this research, a combination of the two techniques was used to collect the required data.

During the field trips the researcher stayed in a neighbourhood very close to one of the three case study neighbourhoods, the upper middle income one. Moreover, the researcher had previously lived for 9 months (in 2006-2007) in the upper-middle income case study neighbourhood prior to conducting the field work. During the second field trip and part of the first field trip the researcher spent a great part of her time in the three different case study neighbourhoods. Therefore she was able directly to observe the conditions and usage of facilities that were being researched. At the same time, while surveying the facilities within the case study areas the researcher participated in walking the distance to these facilities and also using the different available travel modes including public transport. Moreover, conducting interviews with developers of the different facilities and with some of the residents took place frequently close and even in some of these facilities, which enabled close observation of their conditions and usage.

The researcher also participated in meetings that formed part of the process of delivering local facilities. These include: meetings held in the service directorates (between officials from the DoS and representatives of the community) which the case study neighbourhoods affiliate to, and meetings held in the residents' committees' centres and *Mokhtar*s offices. The main objective in this stance was to build up a rapport with both local public officials and community representatives, and to understand how activities in delivering local facilities take place.

Finally, the researcher was based at different times during her two field trips at the Municipal palace (Aleppo city council building) where most municipal offices (responsible for the various urban planning aspects of the city of Aleppo), offices of governorate of Aleppo and offices of some international organizations (e.g. MAM) are based. The researcher also spent considerable amount of time in the offices of the Directorates of Services and the *Mokhtars* in the case study areas. Thus, informal observation was accomplished of how the different types of providers work and of how community representatives deal with neighbourhood issues. This observation supplemented information gathered through other methods of data collection regarding the governance process of providing local facilities.

Physical survey of local facilities

Case study neighbourhoods were surveyed to map local facilities in each. Original drawing plans of the neighbourhoods were obtained from the municipality of Aleppo and other government organizations involved in the development of these neighbourhoods. Also some informal drawings of the neighbourhoods were provided kindly by interviewees from public, private and community sector. However, these maps sometimes contradicted each other, and were quite different from reality as many changes were made to local facilities. These maps usually included facilities as intended in the plans. No mapped records were found updating the current situation of existing local facilities.

The researcher intended to get documents available of the different types of local facilities from the different public and private developers. However, these records existed only for a few facilities, which are: public and private (formal) schools and nurseries, publicly provided shopping facilities, publicly provided health centres, and religious facilities. In terms of privately provided shopping facilities, those with granted permissions of change of use were documented; however, getting a copy of these documents was not always possible. There are also informal shopping facilities, for which very limited documents were available. The directorates of services in each neighbourhood were conducting a survey of informal shopping facilities; however, the researcher was only able to obtain information about the survey made in the upper middle income neighbourhood. Finally, it should be noted here that most of the documents regarding local facilities was all in shape of premises and plots numbers and not in shape of drawing plans.

Thus, a survey was undertaken mainly by the researcher with the help of two postgraduate students from the school of Architecture in Aleppo University. The survey was undertaken during the second field trip. However, initial general survey was undertaken by the researcher during the first field trip of six neighbourhoods, from which three were chosen as main case study neighbourhoods in the second field trip. The initial survey was mainly to compare the original plans of the neighbourhoods with reality. Changes to the planned facilities were mainly recorded; unplanned facilities were observed in general.

In the second field trip a detailed survey was undertaken in the three case study neighbourhoods. The survey includes the range of these facilities including: retail (shopping facilities), schools, nurseries, health centres, communal facilities, religious facilities and recreational facilities.

During the survey, the approximate amount of floor space of facilities was noted, the type of facilities was identified, the occupant and vacancies rates, empty plots, and new (future) facilities with planning permission approved and those under construction at the time of the survey. The data collected were then coded and mapped using AutoCAD maps. The results have been reinforced by and compared with the data collected from the various sources described above.

A lot of the work on coding and mapping these data was undertaken during the field trip and draft plans were developed. Tables showing the local facilities in each neighbourhood were generated manually and were interpreted to develop a picture of each neighbourhood which was used later in the analysis.

A qualitative observation of the local facilities and the conditions of the built environment in the case study neighbourhoods in general was made taking account of matters such as the general appearance and the location of the local facilities in particular and the whole neighbourhood in general; how well the areas were looked after; presence of litter etc. These observations were also recorded (taking photos and notes) and used in the analysis of the case study areas.

4.5.4 In-depth, structured and semi-structured interviews

During the first field trip much information was gathered through informal conversations and through semi structured interviews. Interviews included members of the following sectors:

State:

- Planning Department in Municipality of Aleppo: 7 officials.
- Traffic Department: 2 officials:
- Services departments: 7 officials
- Directorate of Education: 2 officials
- Union of Women: 2 members
- Directorate of Health: 1 official
- Department of properties: 2 officials
- The General Company for Engineering Studies and Consulting GCESC - Aleppo: 2 officials

Civil society:

- Academics: 1
- Members of public (residents): 15 households (from the different selected neighbourhoods).

Information gathered from interviews in the first field trip helped the researcher to understand about the development process of the neighbourhoods in Aleppo and their local facilities in general and the role of the different actors in providing local facilities. Moreover, it helped the researcher to select the case study areas that were chosen later for in-depth analysis in the second field trip.

Prior to the second field trip, a framework for structured and semi-structured interviews was prepared through detailed analysis of the literature review and the data gathered from the first field trip. With regard to the interview questions, different topic guides were prepared for different kinds of interviewees. In particular, interview questions were examined several times through supervision in order to minimise the possibility of including 'poorly constructed questions' (Yin, 2003). The interview guide questions were mainly derived from the conceptual frameworks. They were developed to enable the researcher to first, explore the participation of the various actors in the provision process of local facilities in neighbourhoods. In this regard, data were collected through interviews with the different stakeholders including the state, the market and civil society. The topic guide used for the government officials' interview was divided into two parts.

One focused on the case studies and the other focused on the urban governance context in general. Second, to explore the impact of this provision on neighbourhoods' sustainability. The latter was explored particularly through interviews with residents.

The residents' interview guide was set out initially as a structured interview guide. The content of the questions in this topic guide was formed to focus on the five aspects of social sustainability derived from the literature. Questions were formed in light of examining previous research on social sustainability (e.g. Bramley and Power 2006, Masnavi 1998) which mainly focused on the relationship between the built environment and social sustainability in general. The questions of the topic guide in this research were developed to gather data specifically on the impact of local facilities on the five main aspects of social sustainability rather than the impact of urban form in general. Moreover, the topic guide was formed to gather qualitative information through interviews rather than questionnaires, using a face to face method. It was divided into three main parts (see appendix (4-2). The first gathered general information about the background and demographic profile of the interviewees and their households. The second part gathered information about the interviewees' perception of the impact of local facilities on social sustainability through answering five main questions, each concerned with one of the five aspects (accessibility and usage, mode of travel, social interaction, safety and security and sense of place); the interviewees' satisfaction of local facilities; and perception of further improvements. The final part gathered information on perception of the participation process in planning and implementing local facilities.

The latter topic guide, for residents, was trialled through pilot interviews and discussion. The pilot interviews were carried out with 7 interviewees: 5 Syrian PhD students and their spouses who were living in Edinburgh at that time, and 2 interviews were also held over the phone with residents of Aleppo. However, when the guide was applied in the case studies during the second field trip, respondents offered further information, so the interviews ended up as semi-structured ones.

The interviews in the second field trip were held with members of the following sectors:

State: 66 interviews with members of the different organizations responsible responsible for providing local facilities.

Market: 45 interviews were held with people who run private facilities in the neighbourhoods: shops (formal and informal providers), shopping centres, private nurseries, private clinics, officer in the company of Aleppo markets.

Civil society: 64 interviews with Members of community organisations (heads of community in each neighbourhood (*Mokhtar*), members of neighbourhood committees, and members of residents committees), academics and residents in the three neighbourhoods (about 15 in each).

Detailed information about the interviewees is presented in Appendix (4-3).

Interviewees from the different sectors were selected with a view to reflecting different points of view and to cover all aspects of governance process. The initial target was 15 residents per case study neighbourhood. Access to these residents was to be achieved through an initial introduction by the *Mokhtar* or the head of the neighbourhood committee in each neighbourhood, followed by a sequence of introductions from resident to resident. The selection of the interviewees aims to cover the range of different household groups. Most of the interviewees were members of families with children of different age groups and a few had elderly member living with them. Moreover, the perceptions of households with physical disability, regarding travelling to the available local facilities, were also noted through brief interviews with two members of households with physical disability; these interviews were additional to the planned 50 interviews. However, the selection of resident interviewees was not straightforward. In some cases the chain was broken and the researcher had to rely on finding people randomly.

Ethical procedure and approval

Prior to undertaking the two field trips the researcher obtained ethics approval from the School of Built Environment/Heriot-Watt University based on completion of the ethics form and risk assessment form which discussed the activities to be undertaken in the field trip and possible risk or hazards.

To ensure data protection, all interviewees were informed of the position of the interviewer as a PhD researcher and were briefed clearly on what the research is about and how it will be disseminated. Data collected from the interviews were dealt with confidentially and kept securely to ensure that all information was protected. In most of the interviews notes were taken without tape-recording the interview, as interviewees didn't welcome the recording.

Only a few interviewees were happy to have the interview recorded. Moreover, many of the interviewees preferred not to mention their names in the thesis, thus the researcher chose to keep all the interviewees anonymous.

4.6 Methods of Data Analysis:

As mentioned earlier the research is conducted following a mixed-method approach which is mainly qualitative but also quantitative. Thus, it is very important to be careful in choosing the analytical techniques.

Secondary data and grey literature analysis

Secondary data analysis was used throughout the research along with analysis of grey literature to supplement the primary data analysis. Data was collected and reconstructed mainly to describe the social, economic and political context of Syria in addition to describing the context of the three case study neighbourhoods. It was also helpful in enhancing the interpretation of the primary data analysis collected from interviews and observations. In addition, it was useful in validating the findings of the primary research[14].

Physical maps

Morphological analysis was undertaken through redrawing maps of the three case study neighbourhoods using AutoCAD; the maps were based on basic digitized data (AutoCAD drawings) of the case study neighbourhoods and compared with other hard-copy maps both obtained from the municipality of Aleppo and the GCMH. The hard copy maps showed the original plans of the neighbourhood including the different land use. The produced maps were used to show changes between planned and existing facilities. For each neighbourhood two maps were produced,: the first map showed designated land use of the case study neighbourhoods, on the second map the physical survey undertaken of the local facilities in each case study neighbourhoods were shown.

[14] Goodwin (2012) explained that secondary data analysis can be used as: a substitute to primary data analysis; a supplement to primary data analysis; introduction for primary research; final stage for the validation of primary research; and also as a mixture of both.

Thematic/framework analysis:

Data from the interviews and notes from the field trips observation and physical survey provided the main data from the preliminary analysis. These was also supported by the secondary data as mentioned above.

Drawing on the literature review, two analytical frameworks were developed as presented in chapter 2 and 3 in order to be used in conducting the three case studies. The two analytical frameworks were influential in the research design and provided context to data the preliminary analysis. The thematic/framework analysis was, thus, chosen as the main data analysis method.

Interviews were transcribed (in Arabic) during the fieldwork period, as only a few interviewees allowed recording, however, notes were also taken during these recorded interviews. During the data collection period in the two fields trips, the researcher undertook a preliminary analysis of the interviews, which helped identify emerging issues that needed more clarification and helped in pursuing the following interviews and refining the frameworks.

Next, a thematic analysis of the interviews was carried out. Analysis of the data was directly undertaken using the Arabic transcripts of the interviews due to the significant amount of data collected. The researcher decided that it was time consuming to translate the whole transcripts of all interviews, and that this would not affect the result of the analysis. Data were managed by hand and not using computer software. All interviews transcripts were read through thoroughly and major themes and ideas were identified. Similar concepts collected from interviews with participants (from the same sector or from different sector members from the state, market and civil society sectors) were grouped under main categories sourced in two ways. The first and most important way was with the main categories identified in the analytical frameworks, upon which, the questions used in the interview guide were developed in the first place. In addition, some of the data were also labelled under categories derived from the interviews rather than decided before, particularly in terms of data emerging from resident's responses to questions regarding reasons of their perception of the impact of local facilities on social

sustainability. In a few cases data collected from different sources were contradictory and these were pointed out when this occurred[15].

Further details of how these methods were used and how the data are displayed are explained at the beginning of chapters six and seven on analysis of case studies.

Mapping and interpretation of data

During and after the thematic analysis of the data based on the two frameworks, an initial draft of the analytical chapters was written in a more descriptive way. Conceptual mapping were developed to show the governance process for delivering each of the local facilities, while quotations where drawn from some interviews where it was important to support the text explaining some of the themes, mostly in the analysis of the impact of providing local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level. A more detailed analysis was then undertaken reflecting on the concepts underpinning the themes. Findings were then drawn and linked together directed by the objective to understand the implications for neighbourhood social sustainability of the governance process in the provision of local facilities, recommendations were developed for improvement and gaps are identified for further research.

Language and translation issues

Birbili (2000) argued that when data is collected in a language that differs from that which the results are presented in, difficulties related to translation issues might occur[16]. Birbili (2000) also recommended that the way in which the researcher overcame such difficulties along with his/her capacity to move between the languages be described, as these will influence the quality of the findings of the research and the resulting reports

In light of the above, it is important to note here that all interviews were undertaken in Arabic while data from these interviews where presented in English. The researcher's first language is Arabic, which made it easy to undertake the interviews. At the same time, the researcher is fluent in English and this was improved during the research process.

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[15] For example, the information on the nursery plots in Halab-AlJadeeda provided by community representatives and members of the women's union was contradictory.

[16] "Words which exist in one language but not in another, concepts which are not equivalent in different cultures, idiomatic expressions and/or differences among languages in grammatical and syntactical structures are issues which call for very specific decisions" (Birbili 2000 p 4).

Undertaking the draft literature review of the thesis prior to the field work familiarised the researcher with most of the idiomatic expressions used in her thesis. Moreover, as part of gathering grey literature the researcher was able to obtain a few documents (e.g. MAM reports) in both languages (English and Arabic), which was helpful for the researcher.

4.7 Limitations of the research

First of all, in terms of conducting and recording interviews and document scarcity, it was difficult to obtain interviews in general, because many interviewees from the different sectors were reluctant to answer questions related to complex issues. In arranging the interviews with government officials the researcher was helped by friends and their colleagues (who worked in the municipality of Aleppo at that time and have good connections) to be introduced to key interviewees that were otherwise difficult to access. In other cases some of the interviewees kindly introduced the researcher to other interviewees whom they know. In the few cases when the researcher had to contact the interviewee without previous introduction by someone he/she knows, based on merely identifying herself as a PhD student equipped with a formal letter from the university of Aleppo, interviewees tended to ask for complicated paperwork and formal permissions that were sometimes difficult to obtain and therefore time-consuming. Moreover, in a very few cases the frequent changes in officials' positions resulted in new officials maybe not having sufficient knowledge about the subject, so that the researcher was referred to the former officials and, thus, had to track them back to their new position to conduct the interview.

On the other hand, interviews with officers and people from governmental departments and *Mokhtar*s sometimes took longer to complete than expected. These interviews often took place in the interviewees' workplaces during working hours where some interviewees used to carry out their daily work during the interviews. Moreover, in a few instances, the researcher would have already arranged an interview and the interviewees either arrived very late or cancelled the interview and rearranged it at another time which again was time-consuming.

Moreover, the researcher also sought to attend official meetings that could inform about the governance process in the case study areas (e.g. *Mokhtar*s and heads and members of neighbourhoods committee and representative of providers of local facilities and services in their neighbourhoods). However, after being invited by one official to attend she was

informed by another that these meetings are closed meetings and she is not permitted to attend.

In terms of obtaining formal documents (like written documents, maps, plans of neighbourhoods and information about land uses in neighbourhoods, this proved to be very difficult because some departments limited access of such materials. Moreover, some information was not saved in an organized way in some cases, thus, it took a long time to obtain and the researcher had to wait for a long time and even make several visits to obtain documents.

Surveying the facilities, taking photos and interviewing private providers made people suspicious at the beginning especially those who run informal facilities. At the time of the research the municipality was discussing closing the informal facilities so people thought that the survey might be undertaken by the municipality. However, when the researcher explained that the research is academic and is also targeted towards improving the provision process and thus the product of local facilities, people were welcoming. On the other hand physical surveying of local facilities was difficult with regard of availability of information as explained in 4.5.3. The private facilities were randomly located and there were no official plans that include these facilities. Moreover, the researcher was asked by some interviewees from the public sector to provide summary of her work and copies of the developed maps of facilities. However, with the new conditions taking place in Syria recently, a great deal of the local facilities was changed due to being closed, as owners flee the neighbourhoods, or to being demolished.

Finally, it is important to note that data collection was conducted during a period in which Syria was still undergoing a reform process which included important political and economic issues. Most importantly, the war currently taking place within Syria is a key challenge to this research. The war is bound to change the social political and economic context of the country which in return affects the stakeholders and institutional factors in urban governance process. Thus, the information that was true at the time when the field trips were held (2008-2010) might no longer be in place due to the recent conflict.

Chapter 5 National Syrian context for urban development

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the governance process of urban development in Syria. The chapter begins with a brief description of Syria and the evolution of the concept of sustainable development in this country. Then it gives an outline of the political economy in Syria. This is followed by an exploration of the elements of the governance process of urban development in general and provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in particular and how these are manifested in the specific case of Aleppo.

However, it is worth mentioning that most of the data used in this chapter were originally collected in the period between 2008 and 2010, when the researcher undertook two field visits to Syria. The researcher has not visited Syria since July 2010, thus, data on more recent developments are less prominent.

Data used for this chapter have been obtained from a variety of sources. This includes literature from books and academic papers in addition to publication of national and international organizations which was mainly used describing the social, political and economic context of Syria (section 5.2). The majority of the information used to produce section 5.3 on urban governance was drawn mainly from grey literature which varied from government documents and reports and memos, international agencies' reports, Syrian press memos and academic dissertations. Moreover, primary data were also obtained from interviews held with key informants from the three sectors of society during the first and second field trips (2008-2009-2010). Finally, data used for discussing the urban development of Aleppo was based on a combination between the previously mentioned resources: literature, grey literature and interviews.

5.2 Syrian social, political and economic context

Syria is a strategic point in south-western Asia. It has borders with Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine /Israel. The capital is Damascus, with other major cities including Aleppo (the largest city in terms of population), Hama, Deiraz-Zour, Homs and Latakia. Figure 5.1 shows a map of Syria. Syria has witnessed rapid growth in population. Population has increased from 8 million in 1971 to about 23 Million in 2009

(MLAE 2009, Bosman 2012). Natural growth in Syria was estimated at 2.38% for 2000-2005 (MLAE 2009, Bosman 2012).Residential density in 2002 was estimated at 95 p/km^2. However, most of the population lives in Damascus, Aleppo and other western governorates, while the desert areas in the south, middle and east of the country are almost unpopulated. Syrian cities have grown in terms of both area and population. Urbanisation in Syria has increased rapidly: the rate was estimated at 3.3% between 2002 and 2005, with 55% of population living in cities (MLAE 2009, Bosman 2012).

Figure 5.1 Map of Syria
Source: Google map 2013

5.2.1 The political economy of Syria

Syria is classified by the World Bank as a middle-income country. However, UNDP figures for 2005 showed that around one third of the population lived in poverty, and around one tenth lived below the subsistence level. This situation is even worsened by the unrest and conflict taking place in Syria (Bosman 2012).

Syria's economy is based largely on agriculture, oil and industry, and tourism and services. Additionally, a significant source of income derives from remittances (Bosman 2012). FRD (2004) reviewed the political economy of Syria since independence: Syria had a relatively well-developed agricultural and industrial base at independence in 1946, however, the economy experienced extensive structural change after independence.

The state as the main actor

Shortly after independence, Syria underwent a long period of conflict and disorder. Following a coup in 1963 The Arab Socialist Baath Party held power. When the Baath Party took control in the 1960s, Syria's economic orientation and development strategy were extensively changed following the model of socialist states. Similarly, in other socialist states, socialist economic policy was implemented through sponsoring land reform and the nationalization of major industries and foreign investments. However, internal and external factors challenged the economic development of Syria. Key challenges were: the Israeli threat and the preoccupation with internal order; the enormous spending on defence and security, which took priority over economic reform, (military spending was estimated at 30% to 55% of GDP (Mora and Wiktorowicz 2003, Perthes 1995, Hakimian and Moshaver 2001); the detrimental situation of the private sector and the 'alienation' of it from the state; and the unproductive and overstaffed public sector. Public finance became a most important economic factor and the economic power transferred from private enterprise to the state (FRD 2004). Similar challenges were faced by other socialist countries in the region (e.g. Iraq and Egypt) where the state aimed to control economic development and marginalise other sectors. However, while in Egypt, as in Syria, the state failed to provide proper economic growth (Ibrahim 2011), in Iraq, the oil was able to sustain the economic growth and public sector employment (Loomey 2006). In Syria, in 1967 a law was issued to set up a 'single, consolidated and centralised annual budget' to cover the expenditure of the different public sector organizations – this budget was to be mainly directed to development plans. This budget was, however, overloaded by the overstaffed and inefficient public expenditures and usually failed to achieve its targeted plans (FRD 2004).

Nonetheless, altghough the socialist state in Syria aimed to strongly control formal economic development, during the period of the Baath party governance the economics of Syria experienced different shifts towards liberalization known as opening (*Infitah)*:

The **first opening:** As stated above, in the early 1970s the role of the private sector was considerably minimised which resulted in 'disinvestment' and 'market scarcity'. Later on in the 1970s a new 'state-led' import substitution industrialization was encouraged and, thus, private contractors was slightly promoted (Hakimian and Moshaver 2001). However, members of the private sector still had to deal with 'inefficient', 'corrupted' or

'unsympathetic' officials from the government (Hinnebusch 1993). This reform was inadequate and was mostly directed to industrial activities (Gray 1997). In the 1980s an economic hardship hit the Syrian economy influenced by the poor political stability, the drop-off in oil prices, the unexpected increase in population, and the high spending on defence. All these conditions resulted in an 'erratic' pattern of economic changes in Syria which indicated the necessity of new policies and the need for change (Gray 1997, Hinnebusch 1995, Haddad 2011).

The **second opening** started in the late 1980s. It included liberalisation of trade through the end of state domination of foreign trade and prices and expansion of the private sector through a form of 'joint private-public participation'. In 1991 the government launched a new investment law no 10 to encourage international investment which was the most important reform in the second opening (Mora and Wiktorowicz 2003, Gray 1997). However, the implementation of the law was uneven. By the late 1990s the expected measures of liberalization had not been reached and the government intended to expand the reform to different areas of economic activities (Mora and Wiktorowicz 2003, Hakimian and Moshaver 2001).

The **reform in 2001 (the shift to more liberal economy)**: Since early 2000s there was a marked change in the Syrian economy, as in other countries in the region. These changes (in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt[17]) was encouraged by the "Barcelona process" and the desire to join global economy and the Euro –Mediterranean partnership (Alberti and Sayed 2007). In Syria, influenced by international organizations such as the United Nations, these changes included shifts towards privatization, decentralisation and increasing of civil society participation. New moves were made towards some economic liberalisation of the 'social market economy' through more "privatisation; enhancing market regulation and 'contracting out' of state services" (Bosman 2012 p 3). However, in Syria and other countries in the region, different levels of commitment were shown by the political leaders and public officials responsible for implementing these reforms (Alberti and Sayed 2007). Moreover, efforts made to enhance governance process were often hindered by "political instability, economic crises or social unrest related directly

[17] All five countries shared similar "strategic geopolitical position, common cultural heritage, colonial legacies, and postcolonial pursuit of social and economic development, justice, stability and prosperity" (UN 2007 p 11).

or indirectly to insufficient investment in human development" (Alberti and Sayed 2007 p 11).

In Syria, in many cases the regime allies were able to take the new regulations to their advantages and to avoid competitive market rules. Such practices was also common in other countries in the region (for example in Egypt – Dorman 2007). At the same time, the regime chose to expand its alliances to include members of the private sector. Consequently, the second opening provided the private sector with wider access and influence to participate in the decision-making process and in political and economic issues (Gambill 2001). However, according to Mora and Wiktorowicz (2003) this participation was limited in scope; the new opening was not an 'equal partnership'. Moreover, this economic reform process were hampered by many obstacles including the inefficient public and private sectors; high rates of unemployment; falling in oil production; mismanagement; and extensive corruption (Bosman 2012). The economy continued to decline although the tenth five-year plan drafted in 2005 anticipated that Syria should achieve 5% GDP growth during the period 2006-2009 and 7% by the start of 2010. The long period of economic 'stagnation' between 1994 and 2005 mostly led to this decline (Haddad 2011).

5.2.2 State and private sector

As discussed earlier the economy was highly regulated by the government. The relationship between the government and the private sector varied between marginalising the role of the private sector, and unequal partnership with the state (Haddad 2012). Such characteristics were also common in other socialist state countries in the immediate region and elsewhere. For example, similar conditions in the relationship between the state and market were found in Egypt (Dorman 2007, 2013) and Iraq (Loomey 2006). According to Haddad (2012), the government did not try to create a strong private sector; "It's true; this regime helped the private sector grow, but it will never tolerate a strong private sector" (Haddad 2012 p 280, quoting a well-informed manager at the Ministry of Industry in Syria). First, the role of the merchants and the industries which were the significant associates of the private sector was 'victimised' by the government (Hinnebusch 1993). Then, in the early 1970s the private sector was revived again by the government, albeit, in an informal and 'crony-like' relationship between the state and the private sector. In the period between the 1986 and 2000, the economy was characterised as an 'immobile

state-centred economy' (Haddad 2012). Heinnebusch (1995) claimed that economic reform in Syria could end previous constraints put by the state (Baath party) on the private sector. However, Dawahare (2000) argued against such view and stressed that it ignores the fact that economic reform is not sufficient in itself if not accompanied by political reforms. Moreover, he warned that such reforms could benefit the state-linked elite rather than the private sector as a whole. Nevertheless, after 2000, the regime adopted a social market economy (a combination of central planning and market forces) in an imbalanced relationship between the state and the market where the state had the most important role (Haddad 2012).

5.2.3 State and civil society

In the middle east "a tense relationship has marked decades of interaction between Arab regimes and their civil societies in the areas of human rights, democracy, governance reform, justice and reconciliation" (Safa 2007 p 2).

"It is widely accepted that civil society in the Arab world includes independent, non-profit organisations that are distinct from the private and public sectors. This includes family-based associations, social guilds, syndicates, religious charities, social clubs and service-oriented organisations (Safa 2007 p 3). In this regard Syria is not different from other countries in the region. The notion of civil society in Syria is focused on traditional associations such as 'guilds', religious associations and mosques which extended from modern quarters, villages and kin-based relationships (Hinnebusch 1993). Moreover, to overcome the inadequate state support, Syrian culture relied on generosity, family or tribal connections as well as patronage to provide an important protective umbrella. In addition, some informal community networks also exist and undertake similar activities (Bosman 2012). However, while some of the civil society organizations 'adapted and survived', others were joined by modern parties, professional and business unions (Hinnebusch 1993). On the other hand, 'religiously-inspired' giving is a well-established culture in Syria, where donors provide resources to religious institutions to allocate them for 'relief' purposes. Awqaf (which means endowment) is an important form of the 'religiously inspired giving' which played a historical role in providing urban services in Syria and other countries in the region[18]. In addition, Syria also had a range of traditional

[18] See appendix 5-6 for the role of Awqaf in the urban development of Aleppo.

'charity' associations (Bosman 2012). However, when the Baath party seized power, societal independence was reduced as the state restricted some of the most developed parts of civil society and the private sector. At the same time, the Baath formed other popular organizations including peasant, youth, women and children associations, and these were the only organisations allowed to work on women's, youth and labour issues (Hinnebusch 1993). Under the local administration law 15, the government established community organizations such as neighbourhoods committees. The government also dominated the labour unions (such as the trade unions) and the professional unions (such as doctors, lawyers, engineers) with their leaders being appointed by the state. All associations were to be approved and regulated by the Ministry of Labour and Social affairs and thus ended up being Baath dominated. However, between the 1960s and 1990s new charitable associations were very difficult to be registered, nonetheless, informal form of civil society services continued with the state turning blind eye when strong supporter was involved as long as their work did not involve political activities. Similar conditions were common in other socialist countries in the region. Zubaida (2003) and Dorman (2007) noted that in Iraq and Egypt, consequently, the ruling party incorporated all institutions and associations into the state. "Politics and civil society are totally incorporated into the authoritarian state" (Zubaida 2003). Nevertheless, it is difficult to classify the civil society organizations in Syria as no clear definition is available which can be applied to the different civil society organisations in Syria. However, formal and informal organizations continue to serve their communities formally and informally (Bosman 2012).

However, since the early 2000s, accompanying economic reforms, the region witnessed specific attempts to increase democracy focused on empowering civil society and widening its role in development. As a result of these attempts, the importance of the role of civil society in development was recognised and the formation of civil society organizations was made more legitimate (Safa 2007). In Syria, in the very late 1990s the government slightly eased the pressure on the work of local organisations to accompany the new economic liberalisation reform (Bosman 2012). However, despite the explicit desire of governments in the region to achieve liberalisation and reinforce the role of civil society, there was not much effort to monitor the progress of these reforms (Safa 2007). According to Alberti and Sayed (2007), only minor steps were taken towards empowering societies in the region, due not only to the states' weak capacity to undertake reforms and

the uneven distribution of resources but to the actual reluctance of these states to share power with their societies (Alberti and Sayed 2007).

5.2.4 The welfare state

After independence, the approach to economic development was accompanied by a new social policy in order to enhance social conditions. Improving the social economic system was a main aim of the 1950 constitution. The constitution focused on many aspects such as education, which was addressed as a right for every citizen and was to be provided free for all citizens in all government schools. Primary education was compulsory while secondary and professional education were free but not compulsory. Labour was regarded as the most basic factor in social life and as the right of all citizens. The state was to provide work to citizens, provide regulation of wages, and improvement of health and social life.

After 1963, following the characteristics of the socialist state, the Baath party aimed to provide welfare services including infrastructure such as roads, water and sanitation and electricity; free education; and free public health care (Bosman 2012). A new constitution was issued in 1973 assuring the socialist form of government and the government was to provide broad social services to citizens like education, health, social services and wage policy. The state was to provide each of the welfare services for all citizens as these were considered as the main supports of society. Thus, the government continued to provide free education and care for the people's health, and aimed to provide the necessary buildings for many services (FRD 2004, Galdo 2004). The Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MoSA) controls the majority of the welfare programmes and also managed labour unions; regulates the wages and safety; and pays social security. In addition, the welfare state aimed to provide access to funded public housing and other basic commodities to many people (FRD 2004).

However, the political economic conditions, discussed earlier, explained the government rationality for reducing expenditure. Thus, total social expenditure was not able to provide the targeted welfare programmes. In addition, other problems confronted the welfare state such as population growth, urbanisation which put further pressure on the country's economic development (Galdo 2004). However, the (2001) economic reform was considered to be of significant importance. As a result of this reform the need for

upgrading welfare public structures and for improving social legislation arose through a comprehensive national strategy (Galdo 2004).

Among the services provided by the Syrian welfare state was the health service. The government should provide almost free public medical care to all citizens while 'imposing a ceiling' on private health services charges. Free public health care was to be provided for all citizens including public clinics and health centres. However, as with other welfare services, the health care service was hindered by many obstacles. For example, doctors who work in the public health centres were permitted to have private practices due to the low salaries in public health services, so many of them would move completely to these private practices, which led to decline in the efficiency and effectiveness of the public health system. Another impediment was the poor coordination between the different actors within the public health sector; mismanagement; inadequacy of qualified staff; and poor distribution of human resources. As a result, some Syrians choose to use the better-quality private health services despite the higher cost of them (Galdo 2004).

Another important public service was education. Despite the state providing free education (starting from primary up to university), primary education was suffering from problems like the two shift school problems[19]; the high density of students in one class; and the high student/teacher ratio (MoE 2010). Pre-primary education was provided on a fee-paying basis. In 2007 only 12% of children of eligible age 3-5 were enrolled in nurseries. There were only 1637 nurseries in Syria of which 59%were private, 15% belonged to Ministry of Education (MoE 2010) while 23% belonged to civil society organizations (such as teacher syndicate and Women's Union). However, the provision of pre-primary education was not able to respond to the increasing number of working women (Galdo 2004). The Ministry of Social Affairs encouraged public agencies to establish nurseries for working mothers, and the Ministry of Education and civil society organizations to establish nurseries. In the early 1990s a law was issued to permit private nurseries. In the 1990s only 5% of age eligible children was enrolled in nurseries, in 2007 10% was enrolled (UNESCO 2011). This did not make a huge increase due to many reasons as explained in analysing the provision process of nurseries in chapter 6 and 7.

[19] In the case of the two shift school, the school work in two shifts. Half of the school children come in the morning shift while the others come in the afternoon shift.

According to Bosman (2012), quality of welfare services in Syria became very poor and not able to match the increasing demand. Nevertheless, evaluating the welfare state in Syria is not easy due to the ineffective monitoring procedures where current ones are 'poorly coordinating, overlapping, and usually offering data without providing further analysis to be used in the policy development' (Galdo 2004).

5.3 Urban governance in relation to urban development and local facility delivery in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria

According to FRD (2004) development planning in Syria is undertaken through five-year plans. In 1947 the first development plan was launched when a British firm was hired to make proposals for investments. After that a few number of development plans were proposed by national and international bodies some of them were partially adopted and most of them were left over. However, as Syria and Egypt formed a union from 1958 to 1961, there was an intention to amalgamate new plans with Egypt. Although these plans were not implemented, the two countries shared a lot of common political economic characteristics with each other. When the Baath party seized power in 1963 the, then, new government focused on achieving a social economy model. The first five-year plan was prepared in 1960 to end in 1965 which focusing on accomplishing certain development and allocating certain investments. The planned public sector investment was increased in the second five-year plan in 1966. The third five-year (1971-1975) plan expressed explicitly the will to deepen the socialist system in Syria. The economic reforms in the 1970s failed to achieve the goals of the third five-year plan where many obstacles were facing the planning and implementation of projects. The inefficiency of public sector was reducing the government's potential profits available for development expenditures, in addition to the corruption which became so widespread. The fourth (1976-1980) and fifth (1981-1985) continued in the same manner and also fail to achieve their planned goals. The importance of increasing the role of the public sector in the social and the economic development was even deepened in the sixth five-year (1986-1990) plan. However, there was an implicit reference to encouraging the collaboration between the public and private sectors (FRD 2004).

Since 1990, as explained earlier, there was a change towards increasing the role of the private sector. Thus, the seventh five-year plan (1991-1995) and eighth (1996-2000), which accompanied the second economic reform, revealed the willingness for

collaboration between the public sector and the other sectors. This was then emphasised in the ninth five-year plan (2001-2005), which addressed the importance of national partnerships and aimed to activate the different sectors. It expressed the importance of involving the private sector along with the public sector in improving the economy and socio-economic life for citizens. The tenth five-year plan (2006-2010) aimed to integrate with the global economy through promoting privatization, decentralization and empowering of civil society (UN 2006). It addressed explicitly the importance of the integration between the three main components of the economy (the private, the public and the cooperative sectors) in order to improve the economy in general and to improve infrastructure and social services.

5.3.1 Urban planning

Urban planning in Syria goes back a long time, as Syria has some of the oldest occupied cities in the world. Building codes and regulations were available in the Ottoman period and were still valid during the French mandate, with some additions. The first Master plan (in Aleppo) was developed in the last phase of the Ottoman period by the Ottoman administration, which had some foreign engineering consultants (Samman *et al* 2008, GCEC 2004). Master plans were prepared by the municipalities in major cities in Syria from the 1890s on. These plans were concerned with directing the new expansion areas, transportation, services, industries, urban spaces etc.

The Baath government since 1960s represented a shift in planning following characteristics of socialist planning models. Urban planning was concentrated on a 'command and control' approach that relied on the production of 'master plans' by governmental institutions. These plans were prepared by experts who made plans for what they considered to be the public interest. Master Plans were to have considered the objectives of the five-year plans drawing the main lines for planning in Syria.

Local authorities (municipalities), however, had an important role. These were to prepare master plans based on urban development laws and regulations. Local authorities were allowed to contract consultants to prepare the master plans (for example, the General Company for Engineering and Consulting (GCEC) was contracted to prepare recent master plans in the different cities in Syria). The central government (Ministry of Local Administration and Environment, MLAE) was responsible for approving all plans and preparing regional plans for urban development covering all municipalities.

Implementation of these plans depended on the government through strong central authority.

5.3.2 Stakeholders in relation to urban development and local facility delivery: Actors involved, their roles and relationships

Data used to describe the stakeholders involved in urban governance process and the institutional factors influencing the process are derived from the grey literature and supported by information collected from the interviews held during the two field trips. This chapter contributes to drawing this information together to outline the urban governance process of developing residential neighbourhoods and providing local facilities and the role of these stakeholders and institutional factors in this process.

5.3.2.1 State institutions

Central government

Syria is a republic with a written constitution. It has three main powers: executive power is exercised jointly by the president, two vice presidents, prime minister and council of ministers (cabinet). Legislative power is exercised by the People's council (Majlis al-Sha'ab). Judicial power is exercised by the supreme constitutional court, high judicial council, court of cassation and state security court. The Syrian government is highly centralised, so central government's role ranges from the strategic level to the local level. Of great relevance to urban planning, at the national level is the State Planning Commission (SPC) which prepares five-year plans for social, economic and environmental development. Other governmental institutions involved in the urban development of residential neighbourhoods and the provision of local facilities include: the Ministry of Housing and Utility (MHU) which was changed later to the Ministry of Housing & Construction (MHC), and the Ministry of Defence[20] (MoD) – these two are mainly involved in social housing provision. Utilities provision is mainly managed by state organizations such as the General Company for Water, the General Company for Electricity etc., while local facilities provision is usually undertaken by the Ministry of Local Administration and Environment(MLAE), Ministry of Health (MoH), Ministry of

[20] The Ministry of Defence was involved in many development projects, among them are: social housing projects, school buildings, health centres etc. more details are explained in chapters 5 and 6 on the case studies.

Education (MoE), Ministry of Culture (MoC), and the Ministry of Awqaf (Religious Endowments) (MoA).

The State Planning Commission (SPC) was established in 1968. It is responsible, according to Decree 86 of 1968, for setting the economic and social development plans and mobilizing internal and external resources necessary for their implementation. It is to follow up, supervise, organize, coordinate and support all relevant stakeholders within that framework in order to fulfil these responsibilities.

The MLAE is currently the most important national body for the activities of urban planning. Prior to 2004 urban planning used to be handled by two ministries: the MHC was responsible for policy-making, in addition to its responsibility for providing and managing social housing [21], while the MLAE was responsible for implementing the MHU policies (Haddad 2009). However, greater responsibility for urban planning was accredited to the MLAE in 2004 by Legislative Decree No. 64. The MLAE became responsible for setting urban development plans, in correspondence to the planning standards, and observing the implementation of Regional, Master and detailed urban plans. The latter transformation also gave the responsibility of setting new planning policies and standards to the MLAE which has been working on this since 2007. Moreover, the MLAE has a role in providing social housing and social facilities including shopping facilities and open spaces, and buildings for facilities like schools, and other social facilities. These responsibilities would be undertaken by the MLAE central and local institutions like city councils (Municipalities) and Directorates of Technical Services (DoTS).

The MHC is still involved in urban development through its responsibility for social housing and through the General Company for Engineering and Consulting (GCEC), which belongs to the MHC. The GCEC is responsible for providing consultations for public-sector projects; carrying out studies of these projects; and supervising their implementation (GCEC 2004, Haddad 2009).

Another public organization involved in social housing provision is the Military Housing Organization (GCMH), which is affiliated to the Ministry of Defence. Among other

[21] E.g. setting the Planning Standard of urban development which was used in planning since the 1960s and was supposed to set new planning standards since1982.

activities, the MHO was eligible to undertake provision of social housing, mainly for military people, and other infrastructure, local services and facilities.

Provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods involves some other central government organizations which are concerned with specific services. The Ministry of Education (MoE) is concerned with the operation of schools and nurseries. It was originally responsible for building and operating schools. However, the responsibility for building schools was transferred to the MLAE through the DTS which is now responsible for constructing school buildings.

The Ministry of Health (MoH) is responsible for building and operating health centres. The ministry of Culture is responsible for providing cultural facilities.

And finally the Ministry of Awqaf (MoA) is concerned with religious facilities. Awqaf are the Muslim endowments established to "provide for sustainable financing of religious activities and social charities. Revenues from endowments are used to support charitable activities and to preserve, maintain, and develop the endowments and ensure their sustainability" (Haddad 2009 p 239). The MoA is currently responsible for providing and maintaining religious buildings and a few charitable activities. However, it is important to note that Awqaf used to be managed separately from the state till 1949, when the MoA was established in Syria, and used to play a much wider role in urban development and services provision.

Local government

At the local level the Syrian Arab Republic is divided into 14 main administrative units (governorate). Smaller administrative units (cities, towns, villages and rural units) are affiliated to the main units. Every administrative unit has its own local council which has its own executive office[22]. Governors chosen by the Ministry of the Interior head these local councils and collaborate with MLAE to manage the implementation of local development projects. The governorate structure contains a governorate council, an executive office and a number of different directorates[23]. Each one of the executive

[22] Members of local councils are elected by residents in the administrative unit. Members of executive offices are chosen by central government from the members of its council.

[23] A governorate council consists of 30 – 100 elected members. Its executive office consists of 10 members appointed by the central government from the elected members.

officers is responsible for certain functions. Law 15/1971 control the activities of the different administrative units and the relationship between them (UNDESA 2004, Haddad 2009).

The Local Administration Law of 1971 gave wide authorities and responsibilities to these governorates. Each governorate is responsible for the development of administration, health, social services, education, public works, construction and planning aspects through many activities. Of great relevance to urban development and local facilities are: encouraging and developing convenience stores (*Istihlakyat*)*;* providing buildings for the different levels of education; encouraging cultural and social activities and participating with related social associations and providing buildings for libraries, theatres and cultural centres; and providing health centres and mother and child centres, etc. According to interviewees, the governorate is responsible for preparing annual plans for neighbourhoods[24].

The Law assigned the responsibilities of economy, culture, social, health, and urban development affairs at administrative units level (governorates, cities, towns, villages, etc.) to the local administrations. These responsibilities are transferred to the local authorities (governorate). The role of central authorities is limited to planning, legislation, organisation, introduction of modern technology, monitoring, training, coordination, follow-up and implementation of major projects that are beyond the capacity of local communities or important by nature to all citizens. Each city and town council undertakes the responsibilities of the governorate council within the city while the governorate is responsible for monitoring activities of the different city councils which are affiliated to the same governorate (decree 15 11/5/1971). However, the roles at governorate level and at city & town level are not clearly separated, they are mixed and overlapping.

Sustainable Development Agenda (2009) summarises the responsibilities of local administration units (at the level of governorates or the cities, towns, villages and rural units):

- Building and maintaining roads and streets, open spaces and green areas.
- Urban planning

[24] Interviewee 40, Municipality of Aleppo + Interviewee 54, Governorate of Aleppo.

- Local economic development
- Cleanliness and solid waste collection (The local administration is not responsible for recycling and binning solid waste)
- Maintaining sewerage system
- Managing traffic
- Issuing licences according to laws and legislatives
- Caring for health of food industry workers
- Providing basic education
- Providing basic health services
- Providing basic social services
- Public transport
- Providing water and building sewerage
- Providing electricity
- Industry and tourism (MLAE 2009).

Aleppo Governorate and City Council

In the case of Aleppo governorate, the governorate is composed of the city of Aleppo and other smaller cities or districts, each with its own city or district council. The city council of Aleppo undertakes the responsibilities of the Aleppo governorate council within the city.

Municipality of Aleppo**,** also known as Aleppo City Council dates back to 1866. In 1971 it was named as the City Council of Aleppo. In 2005 it had 7769 employees. The municipality has a city council of 50 members, as does the governorate council. It also has its executive office of 11 members. The Municipality of Aleppo consists of 18 main directorates, each with several departments. Responsibilities of these directorates are presented in Appendix (5-1).

- Secretary
- Directorate of Technical Affairs
- Directorate of finance
- Directorate of administration affairs
- Directorate of Maintenance & Services
- Directorate of Health Affairs
- Directorate of the Old City
- Directorate of vehicles
- Directorate of Informatics and digital maps
- Directorate of employees' affairs
- Directorate of legal affairs
- Directorate of Professions and Licenses
- Directorate of open parks
- Directorate of Hygiene
- Directorate of Fire

- Directorate of Planning and Statistics
- Directorate of Internal monitoring
- Directorate of Services Departments (DSD)

The DSD is of great relevance to urban development at the neighbourhood level. It is responsible for urban development monitoring and services provision on this level. The DSD is responsible for 9 service departments (SDs) that monitor a total of 97 neighbourhoods, as each SD is responsible for around 10 neighbourhoods. The SDs were established in 2003, as part of the attempt to improve the function and services provided by the Municipality of Aleppo. A decentralization approach was adopted and a plan was made to establish 9 SDs to operate as local municipalities according to postal code boundaries. These would act like small municipalities in order to improve the co-ordination between the city council and the local neighbourhoods. These SDs consist of the head of department and six sections[25].

The SDs should hold a monthly meeting with the *Mokhtar* and neighbourhoods committee to discuss the needs of the neighbourhood. The SDs are given certain duties, some of which are very relevant to providing local facilities. For example, the SDs are supposed to: coordinate with NCs, encourage participation of residents, and manage citizens' complaints; monitor the execution of public projects; cooperate and promote information exchange with other SDs and with the municipality; maintain sidewalks, roads and streets, street furniture, street lighting, public parks and green areas and cleanliness; monitor building construction and prevent the expansion of informal settlements and illegal changes of use (Organization Structure Proposal for the Services Department (2007). Before the establishment of the SDs the municipality was assigned their responsibilities of these directorates. In 2009 a plan for expanding the remits and resources of these departments was prepared and was awaiting approval.

In addition to the directorates mentioned above, of great relevance to planning and implementation of residential neighbourhoods are The Regional Technical Committee (RTC) and the Urban Committee (UC). The RTC [26] is a committee responsible for

[25]Maintenance section; parks, fountains, and wells section; sanitation and hygiene section; building control section; execution and taxation section; and studies and records section.

[26] The RTC committee is consisted of the Mayor; one official from the executive office in the Municipality ;the head of the technical services department; 2 official from the TSD; and two professionals in urban planning selected by the mayor and the Minister of Housing and Utilities.

reviewing the objections made to Master or detailed plans and for making recommendations and suggestions. The UC[27] is also very important; it is a consultant committee responsible for reviewing urban projects, Master and detailed plans and for making recommendations and suggestions to serve the public interest (Urban Codes of Aleppo City 1994, Haddad 2009).

Another actor in urban development affiliated to the MLAE is the directorate of technical services (DTS) which is an executive organisation established in 1980. Among the responsibilities of the DTS is to undertake construction and maintenance of schools based on demand from the directorate of education on lands specified by the municipality for this purpose.

Other important state actors at the local level which are not affiliated to the MLAE are the Directorate of Education, the Directorate of Health, the Directorate of Culture and the Directorate of Awqaf.

The Directorate of Education (DoE) belongs to the Ministry of Education. This directorate is responsible for requesting the building of a school from DTS. According to the standards of the Ministry of Education, schools should work one shift and each classroom can host 32 to 36 students. The department of statistics in the DoE and planning in the directorate is responsible for putting short plans for the directorate's needs in the short term (annual) plans and long term (five-year) plans. The DoE should carry out final receipt of projects and then run the public schools and nurseries.

The Directorate of Health (DoH) is affiliated to the Ministry of Health. This directorate is responsible for building and running the public health services (which include, according to the standards of the Ministry of Health, a health centre for every 20,000 people in the city; an inclusive clinic, which should include a wide range of specialities, for every 500,000 people; and different specialist clinics at the city level in addition to general and specialised hospitals). The department of statistics and planning in the DoH

[27] The UC consists of the head of the municipality headed this committee which consists of three members from the city council and the executive office; one member from the Syndicate of Engineering; the head of the DoTA; and the head of the Planning office

is responsible for putting forward plans for future projects. The directorate requests funds from central government, and then it is responsible for building and operating the health facility.

The Directorate of Culture is affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and is responsible for the provision and running of cultural facilities according to its ministry's standards. The Directorate of Culture is to apply for funds and undertake building and operation of cultural facilities.

And finally, the Directorate of Awqaf**,** Ministry of Awqaf, is responsible for providing religious buildings and running them.

In summary, the roles of the different state organizations at the different levels in urban development are complex and overlapping. The government role in provision of local facilities is divided among different bodies at the local and central level which is affiliated to different central government institutions. While the role of preparing and designating Master and Detailed plans of urban development (including land uses) is undertaken mainly by the municipality, responsibilities for implementing these plans are shared with the different directorates and departments. Moreover, according to the Local Administrative Law, the governorates and the municipalities are responsible in general for the implementation of all facilities. Monitoring the development process is the responsibility of central government, through the SPC and the relevant ministries; and of local government, through the governorate, municipality and each of the related directorates.

Moreover, in general, public sector institutions have been suffering from administrative system deficiencies and weaknesses of performance and coordination among public and community institutions. For example, a workshop held in Aleppo Syndicate of Engineers in (2003) discussed problems faced by the City Council of Aleppo as follows: "the lack of coordination among functions of the City Council and other government service sectors; the administrative system's weakness; poor project execution and lack of monitoring; excessive paper work and bureaucracy, long time taken for licence procedures and the demand for the interference of external parties; lack of criteria concerning the appointment of staff; lack of accountability; shortage in the City Council's budget; weak relations between the City Council and neighbourhood committees; absence

of field visits to identify neighbourhood problems; weak communication with citizens due to lack of confidence in the council; and citizens' weak tax awareness."

5.3.2.2 Private sector

As mentioned earlier in 5.2.2 the socialist state marginalised the role of the private sector (Hinnebusch 1993). With the second opening the participation of the private sector in development began to grow. However, this participation was still very limited. In 2000 the state adopted a social market economy because a reform was needed as the public sector failed to meet the state's commitments (Perthes 1994; Hinnebusch, 2001).

With regard to urban development and local services provision, the private sector role was limited in the formal urban development process. The formal participation of the private sector was limited to: developing housing according to plans made by the government (occasionally the detailed plan was developed by the private sector), and to investing in some facilities (shops) which had already been developed by a governmental institution. At the same time, the private sector participated in urban development through providing unplanned facilities like shops, private clinics, offices etc. through both formal and informal markets. Thus, private sector agencies which have a role in urban development and in local facilities provision can be categorised into the formal market - which is regulated by the government - and informal markets- which fall out of the government regulations. These include both individuals and organizations:

- Housing associations are involved in providing urban development and local facilities[28]. They are mainly concerned with providing housing to their members. However, these associations are also responsible for developing open spaces while housing development is taking place.

- Formal individual private developers like shopkeepers; developers of private nurseries, hospitals, health clinics and other private facilities were also involved in the provision process of local facilities. These private developers usually provide their services within the residential neighbourhoods through changes of uses from a residential use to

[28] These institutions consist of a number of people with the purpose of getting access to housing. Members of the association will have to register it in the Ministry of Local Administration and then to publicize this association. This association either buy the land for housing directly from the original owners or are allocated this land by the municipality. They can either develop the housing or hand over the housing plots directly to the members who will develop their housing individually.

accommodate more business activities; their provision is usually driven with an eye to make profits. This formal provision is regulated by the state; it develops authorised but unplanned facilities,

- The informal market also participated illegally in urban development and in the provision of local facilities. At a larger scale, the informal markets participated in providing informal settlements at the edges of the formal urban developed area of the city and also in providing widespread informal trade activities and small manufactures (Hasan 2012, Hasan and McWilliams 2014). At smaller scale, similar to the formal individual private developers mentioned above, the informal market provided local facilities through changes of use; however, this provision was not regulated by the state and was usually against what is permitted by building codes.

5.3.2.3 Civil society

Civil society in Syria has played a minor role in urban development. At the neighbourhood level a few institutions have participated in the development process:

Community based organizations

Connelly *et al* (2013) reviewed the meaning of community representation. He explained that traditionally representation was understood as 're-presenting' the interests or 'speaking on behalf' of somebody with the main focus on the visible relationship between the representative and the represented – constituents or electors (Pitkin 1967 in Connelly *et al* 2013). In modern governance, he argued that it is essential to understand the complexity of relationships between representatives and represented and the different practices that can be regarded as legitimate representation. Informal practices of representation can play an important role in the governance process and should be taken into account (Connelly *at al* 2013). He noted that representation should be integrated through the governance process in order to be effective.

In Syrian neighbourhoods, three formal entities are involved in representing communities. The first two are appointed by the government and the third is nominated by the housing associations.

Al-Mokhtar

The government appoints a person in each neighbourhood to deal with local social issues, this appointment is usually made through the branch of the Baath party (Interview 2, SD). The *Mokhtar* has a 'semi-official role'. He acts as a neighbourhood representative and as a government representative. However, his role is mainly practised as a government representative rather than a residents' representative. His responsibilities, according to Local Administration Law 15, include: informing people of laws, regulations and orders through advertising in the committee centre, public places and religious buildings; duties related to issuing birth and death certificates; military service; and assisting public authorities. In addition he is involved in making censuses and surveys with regard to residence, birth and death, and preparing surveys and information required for the different public authorities. The *Mokhtar* used to be responsible personally for providing a place to practise his responsibilities. However, since 2003, the government is to provide a place within the neighbourhood for the *Mokhtar* to undertake his duties (Interviews with Mokhtars, Haddad 2009).

Neighbourhood committees (NCs)

In addition to the *Mokhtar*, each neighbourhood has a representative committee consisting of 7 to 15 members who are residents in the neighbourhood. Two different views were given on how these members are selected. The first view is that these members are appointed by the Executive Bureau of the City council based on suggestions from the head of the city council from among residents nominated by the Mokhtar to reflect the different groups of society in each neighbourhood (Interviewee 2, SD and Haddad 2009). The second view is that the local branch of the Baath Party plays an important role in selecting members of the RCs (Interview 6, SD and Haddad 2009). The responsibilities of the committee are to propose the executive plan for the neighbourhood (propose annual service plan for the neighbourhood); implement public participation in projects that benefit the neighbourhood; observe and monitor the implementation of services; care for the neighbourhood's urban, social, health and cultural affairs and represent residents' needs to the executive bureau; observe health and cleanliness in general and report any problems; undertake surveys and statistics needed by the different authorities. The committee is to meet every two weeks (usually at the *Mokhtar's* office), the *Mokhtar*

documents the discussion and suggestions which are then reviewed by the head of the executive bureau (Interviewes with Mokhtars and SD officials, Haddad 2009)

This institution was established in 1971 by Local Administration Law 15, but has not been very active. The establishment of the SDs in 2003 was supposed to activate the role of these committees. In addition to the fortnightly meeting mentioned above, these committees should meet monthly with the head of service directorate to raise issues that concern the residents in these neighbourhoods. NCs should also hold regular meetings periodically every three months with representative of the different directorates responsible for providing the services in neighbourhoods and with head and members of service directorates. These meetings are to be organised by the branches of the Baath party (every few neighbourhoods affiliate to a branch of the Baath party). Residents' needs and demands must be dealt with and discussed in these meeting with the appropriate responsible directorate. Annual meetings should also be held where residents are invited to meet with neighbourhoods committee, officials from service directorates and head and members of the branch party, the governor and head of city council are to attend these meetings. The annual meetings should discuss annual plans for neighbourhoods. Suggestions from these meeting are to be used to develop annual neighbourhood's plans which will be then discussed by the city council and governorate. However, as some interviewees stated, in reality the meetings discussed above were not always taking place as supposed to. Chapter 6 further discusses this issue (Interviews with Mokhtars and SD officials).

Finally, it is important to note here that despite that both *Mokhtars* and NCs are classified under the community-based organizations, they are actually appointed by the government, so they could not be completely considered as independent civil society organisations, but an extension of the state into civil society.

Residents committees

These committees are established in some neighbourhoods where private housing associations[29] are responsible for providing housing or even providing the land for

[29] Housing associations are institutions consist of number of people with the purpose of getting access to housing. Members of the associations will have to register in the MLAE and then publicise this associations. The association will then apply to the city council to be provided with land for housing. The association will then provide their members with either housing or plots to construct housing.

housing. The committee is established -according to law 13/1981 -when the work of the housing association is finished. The committee consists of members from residents of the housing developed by the association. The housing associations' policies decide how these committees are selected and practise their duties. Decisions made by these committees are executive and must be obeyed by residents of the housing developed by the housing association. The committee has the right to rent or invest in the common properties of the residents to benefit these residents. It also has a role in completing the paper work to transfer the property of housing to its members. In terms of the provision of the local facilities, the committee has the right to monitor services within the neighbourhood and report to an office in the municipality or governorate. The role of these committees was often very limited in general depending on availability of common properties of the association and on activeness of members of these committees. In some neighbourhoods they played a role in organizing social activities. The committee has its own finance from fees deducted from residents and from investing in the residents' common properties (Interviews with members of RCs).

Residents of the neighbourhoods

Residents and users are directly concerned with the state of the local facilities. These are the people who live, work in neighbourhoods or use the facilities in these neighbourhoods. Their formal participation is limited to the objections to master and detailed plans (law 5 1974). Other formal participation includes participation through neighbourhood committees and through complaining to related public sector organizations. However, in practice residents occasionally participated in providing informal local facilities as will be revealed in chapter 6.

Non-governmental organizations

Other civil society association are involved in the provision of local facilities but are not based in the community:

The Union of Women (UoW) is a 'political' institution mainly founded in 1967, it is a nationwide organization concerned with improving women's living standards. However, although it is not formally part of the government, the Union is supported by the State - funded partially by the national command (*Kyadeh Qutryah*) - and members of this

institution are approved by the government. Among of the responsibilities of this institution is to provide nurseries on land specified for this purpose.

The Worker's Union is another civil society organization that is occasionally involved in providing some local facilities. Their involvement is specific to certain cases and not common in all neighbourhoods. Similar to the UoW its members are approved by the government.

Thus, these two unions cannot be considered as fully independent from the state; in analysing the case studies in chapter 5 these two unions are considered as state institutions rather than civil society ones

Charity bodies and organizations

Individual donors and charity organizations have also participated in providing charity facilities like health centres. Of these organizations, some are local, while others are national or international.

International agencies

In Syria there are few UN organisations, such as UNCTAD, UNESCO, and WHO. They usually work with ministries on large projects, and sometimes also with local organisations. A number of branches of international organisations are also active in Syria such as the Syrian Family Planning Organisation, the Syrian Arab Red Crescent, and SOS Children's Villages. The former two are semi-governmental, the rest are non-governmental ones (Bosman 2012). These organizations have participated occasionally in providing facilities like libraries for children, health centres in poor and lower-middle income neighbourhoods, and also open spaces.

Other organizations also have indirect participation like the (MAM) Municipal Administration Modernisation program in Syria. MAM is the EU (European Union) funded program for decentralization and local development which operated in cooperation with the MLAE. It operates as technical support and provides training to assist local staff of the city council of Aleppo and other cities in Syria. However, this institution is not directly concerned with the delivery of local facilities but its promotion of decentralization and participation has a potential influence on the provision process of these facilities.

Academic bodies

These include scholars from academic institutions such as the Faculty of Architecture (which teaches town planning as part of its courses for the 4th and 5th year students). Academics were involved in developing the new planning standards and some were employed in the GCEC, which developed the new Master and detailed plans of Aleppo.

5.3.2.4 Reflection on stakeholders:

The above review of actors involved in the urban governance process and provision of local facilities showed that the development process has been undertaken by the three main actors, however, roles and relationships between these actors can be characterised by unequal relationships. The state was the main actor in the formal governance process; market and civil society have had marginal roles in the planned development. Within the state itself, centralization highly dominates the relationship between central and local government which is also responsible for monitoring the local institutions. These reflection was also supported in the interviews with officials and professionals and in a bunch of government reports; workshops; and presentations – see for example Sustainable development agenda (2009); Shibley (2005), De Graaf (2008), McAuslan (2008). Similar views were also concluded in the results of recent PhD researches particularly regarding the public space governance process in Syria (Haddad 2009) and in enabling participation of civil society in urban development in Syria (Hasan 2012). Furthermore, the provision of the local facilities suffer fragmentation in responsibilities as these are controlled and supervised by a wide range of actors depending on type of facilities each of these actors is affiliated to different authorities. On other hand, the role of the market in the formal provision process is limited and is highly controlled by the state. The state also controlled many of the civil society organizations (e.g. NC, UoW, WU), and members of these organization was to be appointed or approved by the state which affect the capacity of these organisations to represent the civil society. Attempts to widen the role of other actors in governance processes could be seen in the formation of the SDs, which was supposed to be the link between the state and other actors in society. However, the role of the SDs was still limited and awaiting for enlargement of finance and responsibilities.

5.3.3 Institutional factors: rules, resources and rationalities

5.3.3.1 Rules

Rules over urban development and provision of local facilities were dominated by the common trends of the social state. The state was responsible for the provision of all services through a highly centralised system. Planning policies and laws were developed to serve this concept. As mentioned earlier, planning in Syria in general is controlled by the five-year plans. However different laws and regulation affected urban governance process and provision of local facilities.

Of great relevance to urban development also is the **Local Administration Law 15/1971** (amended by Decree 61/1974) which defines institutional structure; bodies responsible for economic, culture and services development and their responsibilities.

Law 9/ 1974 for dividing, planning and urbanising in cities, Law 60 /1979 and Legislative Decree 5/1982

Law9 1974 explained the administrative process that housing developers, private developers, housing association or governmental institutions, should follow when undertaking housing development.

Law no 60/1979 made amendments to law 9/1974[30] and defined land acquisition process. The law 60/1979 authorised the municipality to expropriate lands, estimate the price of the land and pay the original land owners and then distribute lands into plots, provide utilities and then sell plots to institutions from the public sector, the cooperative sector[31], registered housing association or individual original land owners. moreover, law 60/1979 classified land uses into three main uses: residential uses -which would be sold to public sector institutions, cooperative sector institutions, housing associations or the previous land owners; Public services uses- which would be given free of charge to be developed

[30] The amendments is concerned with excluding expansion areas located outside the, then, existing Master plan from falling under the law 9/1974.

[31] The cooperative sector generally refer to the cooperation between the private and public sectors. However, in terms of housing this particularly refer to the housing association. In terms of other land uses the participation between the two sectors was too limited as shown in chapter 5.

by the relevant institutions; and land allocated for buildings like shopping centres, shops and offices.

Legislative Decree 5 /1982 defines in detail the process of urban planning of residential development, which is identified in Law 9/1974, starting from preparing the development brief (*BarnamegTakhteetee)*[32], the Master Plans(*MukhatatTanzeemee*)[33] and the detailed plans(*MukhataTafseelee*)[34] as following:

[32]BarnamegTakhteetee should identify future growth of the residential development in regard to planning standards and the local characteristics of each location. This should specify number of population, densities, types and number of services and public constructions.

[33]MukhatatTanzeemee: This is a plan that identifies the future vision of residential development through identifying urban expansions, main road networks, uses of lands, and building codesneeded within what planning standards and planning programmes permit.

[34]MukhatatTafseelee): This specifies the detailed road networks, streets and foot paths, public spaces and other detailed land usesneeded within what planning standards and planning programmes permit.

Figure 5.2 The process of urban planning of residential development

After ratification by the MLAE, the plans are considered to be ready for implementation, according to Law 9/1974 updated 60/1979 amended 26/2000. Plans for division and expropriation are reviewed by the MLAE and the council of ministers. A Presidential Decree will then be issued to announce the area on which the expropriation and division will be implemented, and then the supervision directorate initiates and completes the process. This, however, highlights how centralised the process is and how little autonomy there is at municipal level. Land will then be allocated for housing and services. Services land will be expropriated by the government to provide services like benefits (roads, schools, shelters, squares….etc.). The final stage of the urban planning process also refer to that a copy of the plans is to be sent to the related administrative bodies responsible for the provision of the different services.

However, it is worth to note here that the administrative bodies were not involved in the actual planning process. They would simply receive a copy of the plan and are told to get on with delivering the services. This was highlighted by many interviewees from the different relevant directorates (e.g. DoE and DoH). Some interviewees even stated that in many cases they did not receive a copy of the plans and they had to seek the plans from the municipality. This could result in changing the uses of land later to respond to the oncoming demands. The case studies showed more details on this crucial point in the next chapter.

Moreover, it is also important to note that law 9/1974 referred to possibility of change of land use, only if necessary and if it will benefit the public interest; the change of use from is permitted from certain public services uses to other public services uses. Making decisions over these changes is to undertaken by the administrative institution (Municipality) which can make amendments to these plans or building codes. The new modifications should then be considered by the RTC for approval according to the planning programme and planning standards. These changes should then be advertised for objections, if there is an objection it should then be considered again by the RTC. The changes should be issued through the same stages taken to issue Master and detailed plans. However, the mayor can reject any amendment. However, this process was not always followed in change of use as will be discuses in the next subsection.

Planning policy; preparing Master and Detailed Plans 1982

Preparing Master and detailed plans is divided into 4 main parts: first, the preparation stage includes topographic analysis of the location; second, the survey and analysis stage, which includes evaluating of the implementation of the current Master Plan and the conditions of the area targeted in development; third, the design stage, which initiates a zoning plan according to planning standards; and the final stage, which includes preparing the master plan accompanied with the building codes in addition to a 20-years implementation plan divided into two 10-years period each divided into two 5-years plans. See appendix (5-2) for details of these stages. Similar process take place to change the use of land from those designated in the Master and detailed plans. However, allocation of state-owned land and change of use did not usually go through the same process explained in legislative decree no 5/1982 as many steps were usually skipped, especially the public advertisement (interviews 40, 30, 27, Municipality of Aleppo).

In the case of Aleppo it is important to mention that this report was issued in 1982 eight years after the development of the 1974 Master Plan of Aleppo; thus these stages were not applied[35]. Moreover, in the case of the detailed plans of residential areas many stages were usually skipped as preparing the plans was focused mainly on applying planning standards in terms of densities and building types. However, while most of the interviewees from officials in the municipality assumed that the planning standards were always applied, the case studies did not show strong adherence to these standards as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Another important issue that needs to be noted is that the decree noted that the MHU would issue a planning standards for residential development soon (within one year according to interviewees) and that till then current standards (applied at that time) would be followed. However, a draft of the new standards was prepared in 2006-2007 and still waiting for approval. According to interviewees, it was applied in preparing the new master plan (mainly in the period after 2007).

National Planning standards for residential settlements 1982

The 1982 report did not provide new standards but stated that new standards would be issued soon. It expressed that until the new standards are issued, by qualified bodies according to the latest planning theories and in response to the local environment and local needs, plans should be made in regard to the then, current, planning standards. However, there was no explanation of what latest planning theories are or how they are going to be adapted to the Syrian context.

The 1960s Planning Standards defines the range of local facilities that should be provided for residents in regard to catchments and population according to the current standards. Standards for local facilities were addressed by the ministry of housing and Utilities MHU as following:

[35]Preparation of the next master plan has only started in 1997. It was approved in 2004 and was then put to revision in 2007. It was not until 2012 that the Master plan was issued.

Area of land specified for the service m^2 per person	Population	Facilities
$10m^2pp$ 10% of residents are considered to be in nursery age, half of them is to go to nurseries	6,000	Nursery
$10m^2pp$ 16% of residents are considered to be in primary school age	6,000	Primary schools
$0.5m^2$ pp	6,000	Local service centre: • 12-20 shops • Café • Religious centre
1-$4m^2$ pp(depending on the type of housing)	6,000	Green space play area
$15m^2pp$ 7% of residents are considered to be in high school age	12,000	High schools
$1m^2pp$	12,000	Local public garden
1/6 m^2pp	12,000	Health centre
$1m^2$ pp	12,000	Neighbourhood service centre: • Shops • Pharmacies • Café • Restaurant • Religion centre • Community centre • Gas station

Table 5.1 1960s Planning Standards for delivering local services and facilities

The standards added that for when population reach 48000 persons following facilities are to be provided:

- Hospital
- Public park : 1m2 pp
- Sport centre 0.52 m pp
- Cemetery

With regard to issuing the new planning standards that the report of the MHU 1982 refers to, it was not until 2006- 2007that a draft of the new standards was prepared. A committee of planners, academic, professionals and experts from different relative qualification worked together on drafting the new standards. The new standards were still under

revision in 2010 and were to be issued soon after. The new draft is meant to put the framework for urban development. It sets new hierarchical levels of residential areas and identified a set of local facilities that should be provided at the different level of residential development which is slightly different from the one identified in the MHU planning standards. On the other hand the draft indicate the possibility of private participation in developing local facilities and the possibility of modifying plans in to correspond to public participation and to related ministries plans. However, in 2010 the new standards was still not approved, despite, it was used in revising the new Master Plan and in preparing some of its detailed plans.

Allocating state-owned land (land designated for public services)

Master and detailed plans used to include plots that are specified for public uses in general without specific use. This was to be decided by the executive bureau of the city council based on decision from the urban committee. The urban committee will make its decision based on direct observation of the location of the facility, correspondence to the building codes. However, according to interviewees with officials, the committee do not revise planning standards when deciding on change of use. Usually the process will be initiated based on request from a certain developer (public or semi-public/civil society), the urban committee discuss the allocation of the plot to the certain developer to provide certain facility, if approved it will be revised by the executive bureau of the city council, if approved again it will be issued with a decision from the city council (sources: chapter 10 urban committee/Building codes of Aleppo).

Similar process take place to change the use of land from those designated in the Master and detailed plan to new uses. However, allocation of state-owned land and change of use did not usually go through the same process explained in legislative decree no 5/1982 as many steps were usually skipped especially the public advertisement (interviews, 40,33,30,27, Municipality of Aleppo).

Planning law over changing of urban use

Of great relevance to the implementation of local facilities were the planning laws over change of use which regulates the change of use from residential to non-residential facilities.

A number of laws and orders of the urban committee and the city council have evolved over time to control the change of uses from mainly residential uses to other uses. These decisions permitted the change of garages and residential rooms in certain types of housing (e.g. parts of the residential buildings, their garages or gardens) into other uses (e.g. pharmacies, barbers and hair salons, book stores, clothes store, ironing, and conventional stores etc.). The developer would apply to the municipality to agree to legalize the change of use in return of paying fixed penalty known as 'reconciliation illegal actions' *Hasem Mokhalafah*. These decisions also controlled the legalizing of the unauthorised (illegal) change of use which has already been established without formal authorisation.

While some of these orders were more open to allow a variety of uses others were more restrictive. Moreover, these, orders, which were being issued every now and then, were changing over time; in many cases they were overlapping and contradicted. New uses were usually permitted in the new decisions. However, in few cases, some uses which might be already permitted in previous decisions would be cancelled in newer ones[36].

Building codes of the city of Aleppo

These codes define building types in the city, specify the ration of land allocated for building and that allocated for front, back and side open spaces for each type of buildings, specify height and number of floor for each type of building etc. Within the wide line of the building codes of the city, each housing development can have its own building codes. The building codes would also affect decisions on permitting change of use; in some areas building codes restricted the change of use[37]. Moreover, building codes were amended several times for certain types of buildings. Modification was made by the urban committee and issues with decision from the executive bureau and the city council. These modifications have usually resulted in increasing densities as it usually permitted building larger area of residential plots.

[36] See appendix 5-4 for examples of the Urban Committee and City Council Orders.

[37] This will be further discuss in analysing the case studies in chapter 6.

Laws issued by the different related ministries which influence the provision of local facilities

Apart from planning laws and legislation, laws issued by the related ministries have also affected the implementation of local facilities. Each relevant ministry has its own standards for the provision of facilities (educational, health, etc.) which might be slightly different from the Planning standards. Moreover, each of the relevant ministries has its own regulation over licensing private facilities.

Thus, formal change of use entailed obtaining permissions from different authorising bodies with different demands and deregulations. The change of uses would be initiated usually by requests from the private developers in response to specific regulations. The regulations discussed above do not entail taking into account the local needs ,in accordance with planning standards, or to residents opinions with the exception of licensing private nurseries in residential buildings as this change require the agreement of 70% of residents in the building(before 2004, the agreement of neighbours was not necessary).

5.3.3.2 Resources

In terms of resources to provide facilities, this can be divided in terms of land, building (construction) and running the facilities.

Land is usually provided by the municipality from that allocated for services in the neighbourhood and is state-owned, expropriated, land. Land should be allocated in the Master and Detailed Plans according to the ministry standards, then the municipality should transform ownership of land to the related public provider according to Law 60.

Building and running of facilities are usually done at the expense of the responsible public provider. In terms of providing funding, for most facilities each related directorate was to apply for funds from the central government, to fund its projects. The planning department in each directorate will include the projects within its short term (annual) and long term (five-year) plans and apply for funds through the Directorate of Planning, which is affiliated to the SPC in Aleppo, which in turn prepares the final plans for Aleppo (with participation of the governorate) and sends it to the SPC for revision and approval. The SPC will consult the related ministries. If approved, funds will be allocated for these projects. If not approved, the relevant directorate will have to reapply again and the

project will have to wait until it is approved and funding is available from the central government. In some cases funds can be transferred from budgets available for other projects.

In terms of funding available at national level, the MLAE is the 'best endowed' central government institution, with over 10% of the national budget and about the same percentage of civil servants (CORPUS Levant team 2004 in Haddad 2009). Funding for local facilities includes: building local centres, providing green and open spaces etc. The directorate of technical services is affiliated to the MLAE, thus funding for building and maintaining schools will be provided by the MLAE.

In terms of funding for municipalities, the data is contradictory. According to Doherty (2005 in Haddad 2009 p 264) the main source of finance for the municipality in Syria is 90% derived from the central government: "The cities have no single large independent source of local income. All their income is derived either from government grant that is centrally controlled or from local duties that are also limited in their application", with only a few minor local sources such as land tax, permission for building and rebuilding, payments for cleaning and fines and investments made by the city council (Doherty 2005 in Haddad 2009 p 264). Doherty (2005) stated that despite cities collecting and billing these charges, they have little discretion over the level of charges, and they have no single large independent source of local taxation. The local municipal finance system is weak in general as it cannot get loans to support its investments. On the other hand, both local budgets and funding from the central government are insufficient to deal with the current issues, employ qualified staff and sustain infrastructure (Sustainable development agenda 2009). Budgets from central government are managed through inflexible rules with high interference from the central government in local government budgets. Unused budget will go back to central government as city local governments are not allowed to keep saving for future plans and investments (however, the budgets are usually insufficient)

In terms of local facilities, there is a payment for getting a licence for changing uses from residential to other facilities. The latter might have an impact on willingness to issue such licences.

The budget for other ministries varied. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health budgets changed in correspondence to the five-year national plans. In the tenth five-year plan there was an explicit intention to improve health services and to build more

schools to overcome the two-shift problems. Data on the budget of the Ministry of Health and Education varied. For the Ministry of Health, the budget was estimated in 2007 at 4.48% of government budget and 1.31% of GDP, while it was estimated at 0.9 % of GDP in 1998; 0.4% in 1990 ; 2.5% in 1997; 3.4 in 2001; and 3.8 in 2002 (UNDESA 2004).

The budget of the Ministry of Education was estimated at 4.2 % of GNP between 1995-1997 (UNDESA 2004). However, the budget was increased recently (in the tenth year plan). Since 2008 there has been a move towards improving schools.

The Ministry of Culture (MoC) is one of the least endowed institutions in the country. Direct funding for providing cultural facilities is rather limited. On the contrary, The Ministry of Awqaf is one of the best endowed ministries as it is the largest single landholder in the Country. It has its own investment projects which provide profits. However, funds for building religious buildings usually come from charitable bodies rather than the Ministry itself. The Ministry plays more the role of a facilitator than as a direct financial provider (interview).

In general, interviewees from the public sector providers considered that allocated funds from the central government are usually much less than needed. This was also addressed in 4.3.1 (FRD 2004).

Other sources of finance for providing planned facilities come from private sector and civil society sources, depending on the types of facilities. For local centres and shopping facilities, after 2000 funds for constructing the buildings have been available from the private sector through public-private partnership contracts. Private developers and housing associations were responsible for funding the establishment of green and open spaces while development of housing is in progress. Nurseries were to be provided through civil society organizations (e.g. Women's Union). The union has funds from its own investments; in nurseries for example, it is an allocated fund from the national command (*Kyadeh Qutryah*).

Finally, in terms of unplanned facilities, funds were available from private and civil society sectors. These funds are mainly used for the provision of unplanned facilities through formal or informal change of use.

5.3.3.3 Rationalities

National planning standards for residential settlements define the range of local facilities that should be provided for residents with regards of catchments and population, which imply that local facilities were seen as a basic component of planning residential neighbourhoods. However, it worth saying here that, according to interviews with officials and professional in planning[38], the standards was put in the 1960s, were mainly based on western standards. In the new standards it was explicitly noted that neighbourhood should provide self-sufficiency.

However, when planners and officials were asked to provide their perception of local facilities, different priorities were seen to be influencing their attitudes. Academic and professionals addressed that the main aim of providing facilities at the neighbourhood level is to provide needed local facility for residents in the neighbourhood, and to provide self-sufficiency at the neighbourhood's level. Planners from the municipality focused on the importance of following the standards in order to get approval from the MLAE. The same was addressed by officials from the MLAE who were also focused on the importance of following the Ministry standards to get the formal approval.

However, when asked about their perception of the implementation of local facilities, officials in the municipality addressed that there is a wide gap between plans and reality. Where some were more concerned about importance of correspondence between density, catchments and local facilities, others showed no concern, they claimed that it is not of their responsibilities to follow up and update plans to correspond to changes in density for example.

In terms of rationalities of officials in the related directorate responsible for the implementation of these facilities (DoE, DoH, UoWetc), their concerns were directed to providing facilities to correspond to population density based on larger census at city level and governorate level. They addressed that their plans are developed as emergency plans to accommodate the shortages accumulated for long period of time.

[38] interviewees 27,30,40, Municipality of Aleppo and interviewee 59, MLAE.

5.3.3.4 Reflection on institutional factors

In terms of rules over the governance process, the process was controlled by the socialist state system, which sees the role of the state as the main provider of all facilities with a marginal role for the private and civil society sectors. A centralised planning system dominated the process of urban development. Alberti and Sayed (2007) report on urban governance in some Middle Eastern countries highlighted the deficiencies of the centralised planning and the weakness in the legal and regulatory frameworks. Similarly, McAuslan (2008) discussed problems of urban planning laws in Syria. He stated that the laws are "complex, confusing, overlapping, unfair and rigid in their operation, contribute to unauthorised development, bad planning and urban design" (McAuslan 2008 p 10). He also added that these laws are out of date and are quite apart from reality. McAuslan (2008) and Alberti and Sayed (2007) stressed the need for major reforms,highlighted the need for decentralizing public administration and simplifying administrative procedures and for overcoming challenges for modern governance.

However, the centralisation of the system also affected the resources flow for providing facilities, as funds for local projects have mainly had to be allocated by the central state (McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009). The financial system in general was seen to be inefficient (Alberti and Sayed 2007), which in turn would then affect the local authority's ability to respond to the local needs.

Rationalities differed between the different actors. The importance of local facilities at the neighbourhood level was embedded in planning standards. However, these standards were made by state planners who were to decide what public interest is based on imported standards rather than local needs. Designing local facilities were to adhere to these policies. However, providers of these facilities was influenced by different rules and limited resources which could affect their development of the designated facilities.

5.4 Urban development of Aleppo

The above discussion gives a general idea of the context of urban governance process in Aleppo/Syria. This section provides a brief summary of urban development in Aleppo followed by a discussion of how the case study neighbourhoods were selected.

Urban development of Aleppo from the 1948 forward to present days

Aleppo is the largest and most populous city in Syria and is regarded as the capital of North Syria. Aleppo is considered to be one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Urban development evolved through the long history of the city (See appendix (5-4) for the history of urban development of Aleppo up until 1948). However, from the early 20th century till the mid-20th century the city of Aleppo expanded dramatically. Population of Aleppo was estimated at 100,000 in 1883, 150,000 in 1922 and 350,000 in 1948. The population increased rapidly since the mid of the 20th century to reach 900,000 in 1980, and 1,500,000 in 1990. In addition to the natural growth of citizens, the increase in the population was attributed to the large number of migrants from the rural areas who resided in illegal settlements in the east, north-east, south and south –east of the city on the areas that was previously orchards. The government gradually recognized the illegal settlements and provide them with sewerage, electricity and water. The illegal settlements, however, were established without any kind of local facilities and with very high density (1,000 to 12,000 p/h). Apart from the illegal settlements, new settlements was established to accommodate for the middle income and upper-middle income people who left their neighbourhoods in the old city to reside in the new neighbourhoods. Few neighbourhoods were also initiated to accommodate the rich people. In the early 1970s the slight improvement in economy increased the demand for land to provide housing which created land stock market (*boursa*) and result in gradual increasing the price of land. Later on, the capital investment in land highly increased where very few opportunities was available for other investments (Rifai 1996, GCEC 2004)

In 1975 The GCMH entered the housing provision process through providing residential neighbourhoods in different parts of the city, it was able to expropriate land and establish residential settlements without consulting planning authorities. The number of housing association also increased in this period. However, housing associations at the beginning used to buy land directly from its original owners but later; they used to get the land from the municipality for lower prices than when they buy the land directly from owners. In many cases formal procedures of providing housing projects by these associations took a very long time, through which land prices would increase and in return housing prices would increase too and housing would enter the housing market reaching very high prices. Private developers' continued to provide housing as original land owner would apply to the municipality to allocate their land for housing. The services and local facilities were

provided (e.g. few public gardens, hospitals, health centres and schools) to serve residents of the new neighbourhood. However, in general, both housing and facilities provision was unable to accommodate for the increase in population (Rifai 1996).

Master Plans of Aleppo

The Municipality of Aleppo was established in 1860[39]. Building codes were established in 1893 to control heights and dimensions of buildings and public roads and streets and to forbid breaches of buildings on the public spaces[40]. The first Master plan of Aleppo was made in 1899 by the Ottoman state engineer Raeef and his French assistant Chertier to organize the expansion of the city to the north and the west. However, the political conditions and the World War I resulted in partial implementation of this plan. In 1932 Dange put a new master plan to expand the city of Aleppo from 1000 ha to 2000 ha within 50 years which aimed to protect the old city and the orchards in the north and south of Aleppo and focused on expanding the residential areas to the north and west. Residential neighbourhoods in this plan were mainly classified based on socio economic conditions of residents. The new settlements were to accommodate facilities to provide the contemporary needs for residents. The Dange plan noted the shortages of facilities to correspond to the growth of population. However, the Dange' project was not formally approved and not implemented. In 1938 Shihadeh[41] and Ecochard[42] put a new master plan which built on Dange's plan. The master plan again segregated residential neighbourhoods based on economic conditions of residents, building codes were established to allow (detached buildings) in north and west neighbourhoods, the north and west development were unaffordable and thus were left undeveloped for long time. On the contrast, the terraced building neighbourhoods (those devoted for lower income people) were occupied rapidly. Moreover, as the municipality was unable to accommodate the rapid growth, private estate developers developed residential areas outside the Master plan area to respond to the demand for housing. In 1952 the authorities commissioned a French expert, Gutton, to propose a new master plan with an emphasis

[39] Duties of the municipality included care for the cleanliness, height and dimensions of buildings, lighting of public roads and streets, etc.

[40] However, before that management and maintenance of buildings and facilities was managed through *Hisbah which a set of rules which controlled the built environment, mainly drawn from Islamic rules.*

[41] Head of urban department in the Municipality.

[42] The French consultant to the municipality.

on providing transportation infrastructure to facilitate movement, providing new residential neighbourhoods, providing facilities and green spaces to accommodate the needs of residents in the new neighbourhoods and reduce the high centralisation of facilities at the city centre, and safeguard the green and agricultural areas surrounding the city. The Gutton Master Plan was regarded as the first main Master plan of Aleppo and was accompanied by new building codes. However, during the period of preparing the Master plan, new informal neighbourhoods continued to be developed without formal planning, residing thousands of people and lacking the minimum standards of infrastructure and local facilities. When the municipality started the implementation of Gutton plan in 1953, it was faced by financial and administrative obstacle and the implementation was put on hold. This delay in implementation encouraged private developers to continue expanding the existing informal neighbourhoods which results in scattering residential areas. Therefore, the municipality had to modify many details of Gutton Master Plan before putting it for implementation. However, personal interests also affected modification of the Master plan where some of the planned green areas was changed into residential areas to benefit individual and parts of the green belt surrounding the city were occupied by new neighbourhoods. The authorities called upon Benshoya in early 1970s to prepare a new master plan which was approved in 1974. Preparing detailed plans started in 1974 but this was undertaken with a slow pace. The 1974 Master plan also ignored the informal residential and industrial settlements which integrated in some areas as a result of delaying the detailed plans. The informal settlements were estimated at 22 settlements at that time in the different parts of Aleppo.

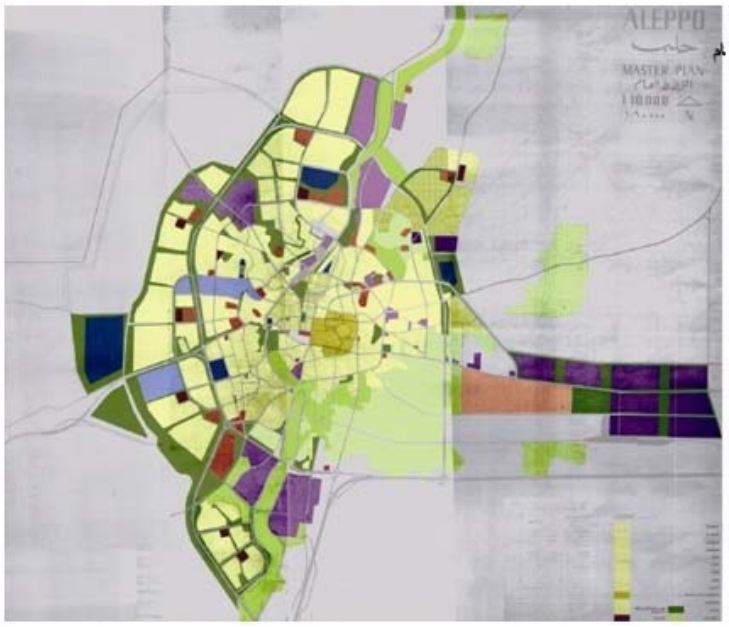


Figure 5.3 Aleppo Master Plan 1974

Source: Municipality of Aleppo

As with the previous master plans the 1974 Master plan also classified the neighbourhoods based on socio economic conditions and specified areas to meet the growing needs of population, the Master Plan contained areas to accommodate facilities in a hierarchical plan. Elements of the hierarchy includes: zones for facilities at the city level; others that serve for few neighbourhoods; then neighbourhoods' centre that serve at the neighbourhood level and finally residential unit centre which serve smaller residential areas (Rifai 1996, Samman, *et al* 2008).

Implementation of the 1974 Master Plan took place gradually. However, implementation showed great difference between plans and reality. At the city level, after 1974 unplanned residential settlements were established outside the Master Plan area and on areas designated for non-residential uses (green /agriculture areas, services areas). Some of the areas designated for services at both city and district levels were developed in a very slow pace (some of these areas was still undeveloped in 2010), while others were developed for other uses than originally intended (mainly residential). At the same time, encouraged by the shortages in services at the city level, new service centres at the city level were created through changing the land use of some residential neighbourhoods into mixed-use neighbourhoods which included wide range of commercial facilities.

On the other hand, new residential neighbourhoods were developed showing marked difference between plans and reality, in terms of densities[43] and land use[44]. Urban development in Aleppo continued in a disorganized and potentially random fashion. McAuslan (2008 p 7) said that the master plans "are often out of date before they come into effect partly because they take so long to prepare but more because, with rapid urban growth, it is necessary to provide facilities – housing, jobs, infrastructure – to meet the needs of the newcomers to the cities, whether a plan exists or not. Master planning contributes to unauthorised and informal development. The more comprehensive the plan, and the longer it takes to prepare, the greater the likelihood of unauthorised development taking place".

In 1997, the municipality contracted the GCEC to prepare a new Master Plan for the city of Aleppo. The plan intended to control urban growth up until 2015. The Master plan was completed and handed to the Municipality of Aleppo in 2000 but was not formally approved until 2004. Preparation of detailed plans to accompany the 2004 Master Plan started soon after. In 2007 before implementing any part of the 2004 plan, the Master and detailed plans were put under revision in order to improve the previous plans to accommodate the economic and population growth which was not predicted earlier. Work on modifying the new Master plan continued until May 2010 and was submitted to the MLAE for final approval in May 2011. However, a conflict took place over the implementation procedures of these plans between the chamber of trade and the municipality[45]. Reconciliation was achieved and building codes were amended to allow building higher residential buildings which will provide larger number of housing units. In addition, members of the city council objected as only 2 members of the city council were included in the committee responsible for approving the amendments and claimed that the committee discarded many of Aleppo city council suggestions [46] and added

[43] Density increased in many of the new neighbourhoods more than intended in original plans as more housing units were provided than planned ones.

[44] Uses of some designated facilities were changed to serve at higher levels than the local neighbourhoods, some of the facilities were not implemented while new unplanned facilities were provided.

[45] The head of the trade chamber object to the application of law 26/2000 in expropriating land for development where the law was considered to be unfair for original land as only 40% of the land allocated for housing will be sold for the original land owner.

[46] The city council suggested reducing the sizes of the service spots in the Master plan; reducing the size of a specific green area and changing the use of one area to an industrial zone, the zone is already developed illegally as industrial zone which was removed in the 2007 Master Plan and the then prime minister promised members of the industry chamber of Aleppo to keep the zone. The city council also suggested

amendments that are not suggested by the city council[47]. In June 2011, the MLAE considered the Master plan and put notes for minor modifications which were applied later and the 2007 Master plan was formally approved. In June 2012, the Master Plan was issued by the executive office of the Governorate of Aleppo with decision from the Minister of local administration and Environment after applying new modifications (SN 2011, TahtAlMijhar 2012)[48].

However, since March 2011 the unrest started to impact urban development in Aleppo, since July 2012 so far, Aleppo became a war zone and urban development has been severely deteriorating.

5.5 Selection of the case Studies:

In general, residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo can be classified into formal neighbourhoods which were planned and implemented with formal approval from the government, and informal neighbourhoods which were developed illegally, typically lacking basic services and facilities.

The formal neighbourhoods can be divided into three categories: (a) old city neighbourhoods where, the primary unit of the form was the courtyard house which gathered to form clusters around the narrow alleys and had all local facilities that residents need for their daily life; (b) neighbourhoods that developed in the late 19th century till mid-20th century, which included some facilities but were also highly dependent on facilities provided at the city centre (some of these neighbourhoods were later changed into mixed use neighbourhoods that provided facilities at the city level); and (c) neighbourhoods that were provided since the middle of the 20th century. Three case study neighbourhoods were selected from the last group (c) of formal, relatively-new neighbourhoods, which were supposed to be developed according to the national planning standards.

reducing expropriation as much as possible. E.g. a zone of three million m^2 is designates for play grounds where there is doubts if the municipality can afford the cost.

[47] The committee changed the use of zones: e.g. two designated green Zones were changed to residential zones.

[48] Of the new modifications: some zones were changed from tourism and entertainment to tourism and commercials, others from services to industries, some green areas were changed to industrial zones or entertainment and also from residential to industries.

Brief analysis of eight of these neighbourhoods showed that development of residential neighbourhoods is undertaken with very slow pace. Housing was usually provided in a quicker pace than planned services, while provision of many services was delayed too long time after development of housing. Thus, neighbourhoods initiated recently were still lacking implementation of most services while neighbourhoods that were initiated earlier had a good proportion of their facilities provided. The final selection of the case studies was made from the latter neighbourhoods, as the main focus of the research was on governance process over the provision of local facilities and the impact of these on sustainability at the neighbourhood level. Thus three neighbourhoods where chosen based on the following criteria:

- First, the three case studies have different socio economic conditions: upper-middle income, middle income, and lower-middle income[49]. This would reveal possible influences of different socio economic conditions on provision of local facilities, and on how this provision impact on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level.
- second, they have different densities and building typology (different densities in Aleppo is frequently associated with different socio-economic conditions).
- Third, they have a wide range of different actors involved in the development process which would reveal possible different approaches to providing local facilities.

Key features	Halab-AlJadeeda	Hamdanya	Hanano
Location and scale	Western edge of Aleppo 175 ha	western-southern side of Aleppo 132ha	eastern edge of Aleppo 125ha
Planned population	23,000 p	32,000p	30,000p
Existing population	35,000p	38,000p	52,000p
Socio economic	Upper-middle income	Middle income	Lower middle-income

Figure 5.4 Characteristics of the three case study neighbourhoods

[49] the lower middle income neighbourhood is surrounded by illegal settlements which showed indirectly the situation of services in these settlements and the impact of them on adjacent neighbourhoods' services

5.6 Conclusion

On the basis of the 'political economy' and administrative structural analysis carried out in this chapter, it can be concluded that the state had the main role in leading development in Syria. A marginal role was given to the market to play, despite the opening and the recent economic reform having the intention to promote a larger role for the private sector. The central government will to adopt decentralization as expressed in the 10th FYP has been proved insufficient (UNDP 2011). With regard to urban planning, the same can be said about the role of the state in urban development and planning. Until recently, the governance model applied in managing urban development in Syria was based on the command and control paradigm where the state was to plan and implement the development. New approaches for decentralization and involving the private and community sectors in urban development were launched recently in order to improve economic and urban development and achieve a better relationship between the different actors which can better respond to local needs. This research is concerned with how these are reflected in governance process over delivering local facilities in the three selected case study neighbourhoods.

The next chapter will discuss in detail recent practices of governance of development of residential neighbourhoods and local facilities in three case study areas. It will use the same framework developed in the literature review and applied in this chapter to analysing the national context.

Chapter 6 Governance process of the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria

6.1 Introduction

In order to understand the impact of governance process on sustainability in residential neighbourhoods, an in-depth study was undertaken of three case study neighbourhoods through two periods of fieldwork. This chapter presents the analysis of governance of the provision of local facilities, and the next chapter (7) will discuss the impact of this provision on sustainability in the three case study areas.

A summary of urban development in Aleppo and an explanation of how the case study neighbourhoods were selected were given in chapter (5) to provide a background to the selected case study areas. This chapter provides the analysis of the governance processes in the case study areas. The analysis presented here focuses on a comparison of the governance processes around the provision of the different local facilities among the three case study neighbourhoods, followed by a reflection on the two main components of such governance processes as identified in Chapter 3 (stakeholders and institutional factors). In order to present such a comparison, the chapter first provides a description of the development process in each of the case study neighbourhoods, including the planning and housing of the area, and a physical description of the neighbourhood and its local facilities. In addition, for the first case study (Halab AlJadeeda), an individual detailed analysis of the governance process of delivering local facilities is presented in order to demonstrate the process that provided the basis for the comparative analysis that forms the main body of this chapter. The detailed individual neighbourhood analysis of governance for the other two case studies is provided in Appendices 6-1and 6-2.

Data used to reconstruct the provision process were obtained from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources included publications of central government, the municipality and other public sector providers; and academic theses and

dissertations. The primary data sources were however the main source of information. They included: survey of implemented facilities; direct observation in the case study areas; and interviews with central and local government officials, community representatives (members of NCs, RCs and *Mokhtars*), members of private sector providers (both formal and informal), and residents in the case study neighbourhoods.

The analysis was first carried out separately for each case study neighbourhood, building upon the frameworks already introduced in Chapters 2 and 3 for both governance and sustainability. Such analysis focused on stakeholders and institutional factors of the governance process of delivering local facilities. The core analysis of the governance process relied on information gathered from interviews with the different stakeholders from the state, market and civil society. The information gathered from the interviews was supplemented by information gathered from grey literature as explained in Chapter 4. The data gathered from all these sources was used to build diagrams to represent the actors involved in the governance process, the roles they played, the relationships among them and the resources provided by them and flowing in the provision process. After this a comparison of the three case studies in terms of the stakeholders and institutional factors was undertaken in order to draw conclusions on the empirical data collected in the case study areas.

6.2 Methods of analysis

The governance process is analysed by studying the six main factors set out in the framework developed in chapter 2, preceded by description of the case study area:

Context

- description of development of each case study neighbourhood

Stakeholders:

- Actors responsible for the provision process
- Roles they play in the process
- Relationships among those actors

Institutional factors:

- Rules: planning laws and legislation that control the process
- Resources that flow to implement the facilities
- Rationalities of the actors that shape their practices in the provision process.

The description of each neighbourhood and planning and housing process is introduced at the beginning of each case study. Within each case study, different diagrams are developed (see fig 6.1 for a model) to show the actors involved, the roles they play, the relationships among them and the resources flowing in the process

The analysis is carried out based on three main actors: the state, the market and civil society. Each of these actors often comprises several other actors where more than one actor from the same sector is involved. In the centre of the diagram, a figure is drawn to show the type of facility. The arrows between the different actors show the nature of the relationships among them, while the arrows between the actors and the field in the centre of the diagram indicate the role of these actors and the resources provided by them. In some cases a figure is added to show the final product provided by some actors where this differs from the local facility shown in the centre of the figure.

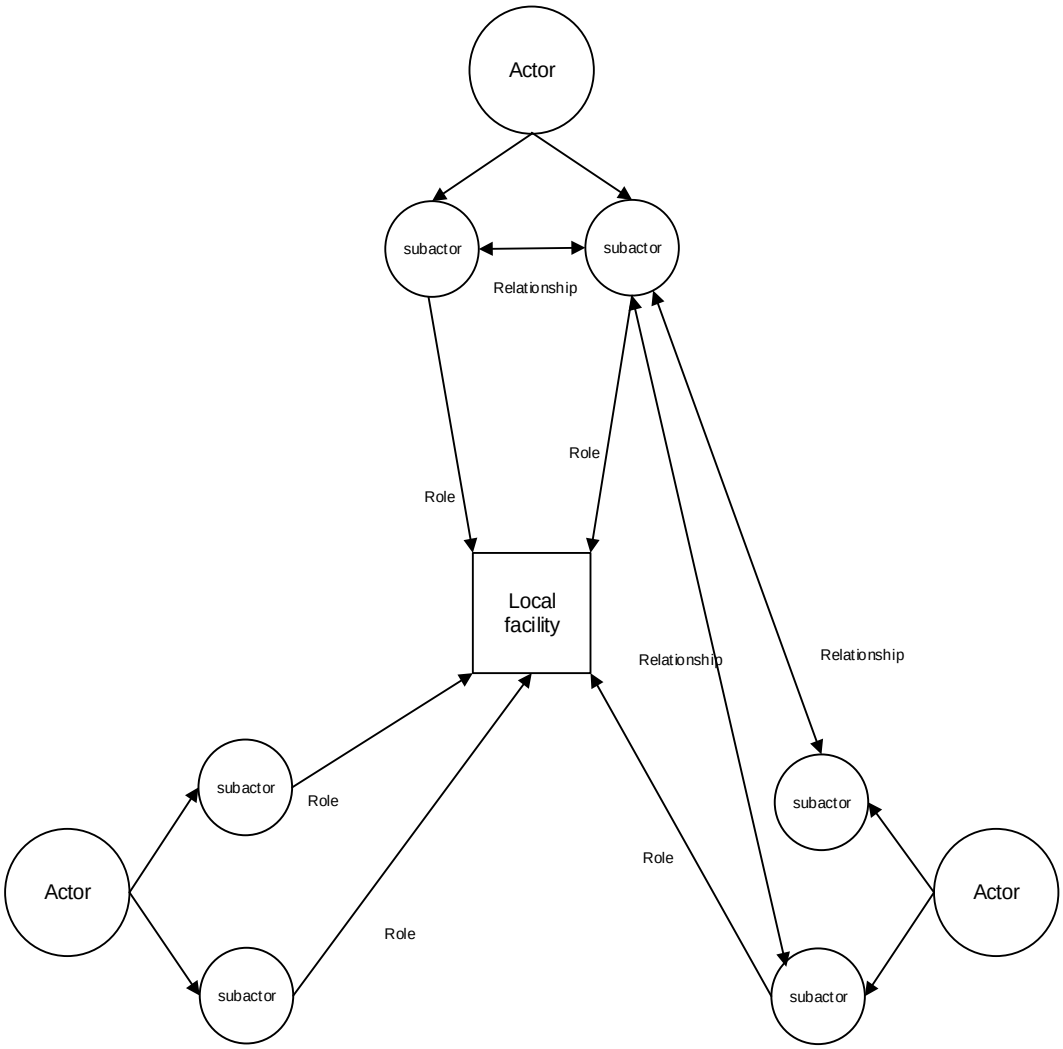


Figure 6.1 Example of diagram used to analyse governance process

6.3 Description of the three case study areas and analysis of individual neighbourhood governance processes

6.3.1 Halab-AlJadeeda

6.3.1.1 Description of the neighbourhood and its facilities

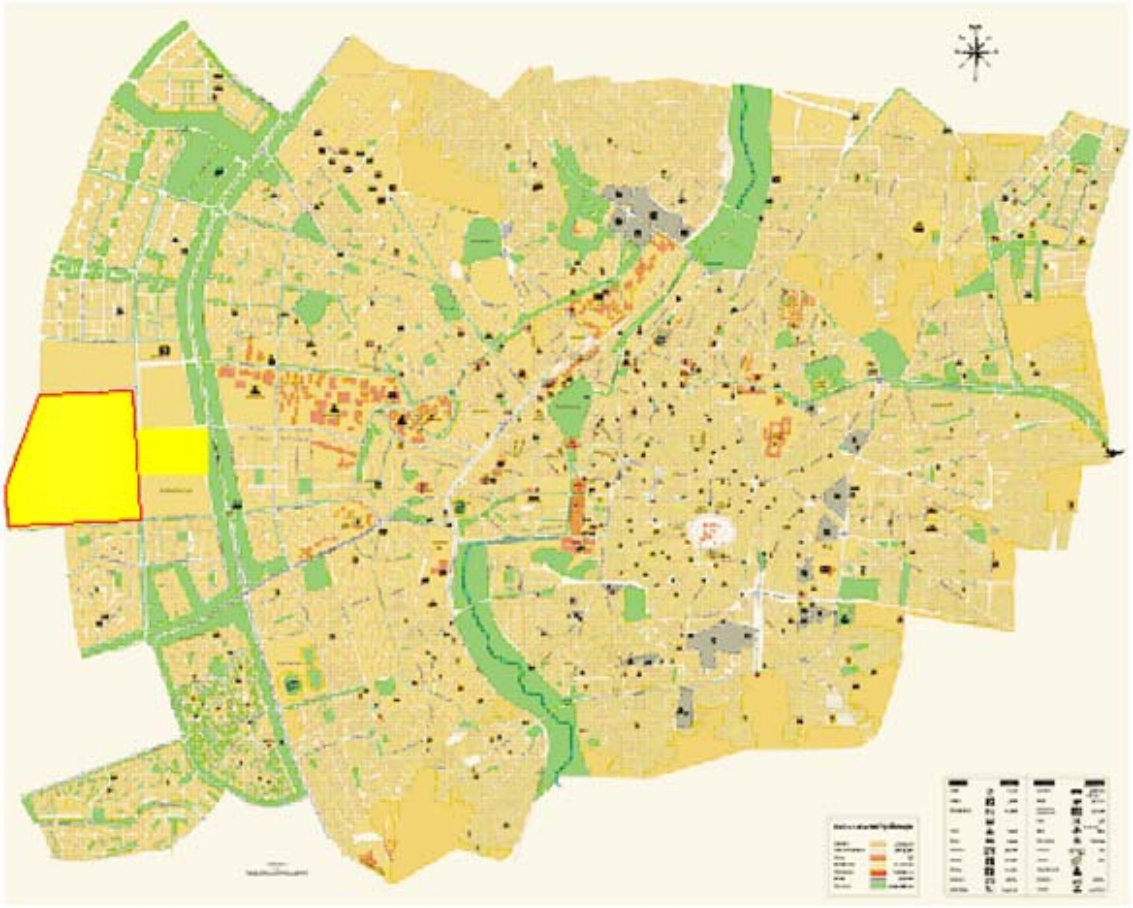


Figure 6.2 Location of Halab-AlJadeeda

Source: Municipality of Aleppo, edited by the researcher

The neighbourhood is located on the western edge of Aleppo with an area of about 175 ha. The neighbourhood was planned to house about 23,000 people but now according to new number of residential units it could house about 35,000p. The increase in population was due to building more housing units than stipulated in the original plans. Building typology ranges from villas of one or two storeys for one family (these types were developed in the early stage of development), to buildings of three storeys divided into three to sixteen flats. The neighbourhood is considered to be upper-middle income.

The area was specified in the 1974 Master plan of the city as a residential area. However, early development started before issuing the 1974 Master plan. The development of the area was undertaken by four main housing associations through different periods of time. The first project started in the 1960s, but development of housing was still in progress in 2010.

Residents started to arrive gradually in the neighbourhood from the late 1960s, but it was not fully occupied until recently.

6.3.1.2 Planning and housing

Four housing associations initiated the implementation process of the neighbourhood. The first one started in the late 1960s when the JKN purchased an area of about 92ha to provide land for housing for its members. Each member was to get a plot to construct housing on it. The association proposed the initial plan of the neighbourhood and handed it over to the municipality for approval; the municipality amended and approved the plan. In order to start the development, the municipality expropriated the whole land and gave back only residential plots to the JKN[50]. The financial issues between the municipality and the JKN were handled through *mahdar takas*[51] which estimated the price of land before and after allocation, as the price of land increases after the allocation. As a result the municipality owed money to the JKN (Interview). Plots were distributed by the JKN to its members who either developed housing on their plots or sold to other private developers. Development of housing was undertaken over a long period through which land price tremendously increased and building codes for the area changed to allow a larger area of each plot to be built instead of only a third of each plot. These changes in the building codes helped housing developers, who were keen to make a profit to cover the high price of land, to develop more flats on each plot, reaching 16 flats in some cases. The second part of the neighbourhood was initiated by the JM which started its project in the mid 1970s. As in the case of the JKN, land was purchased and given to the

[50] In order to avoid routine procedures of land pooling, the housing association and the municipality made informal agreement whereby the municipality expropriated the land formally and gave residential plots to the JKN Housing association.

[51] *Mahdar Takas* is the legal action of which both sides, the municipality and the association, got their financial rights. The associations were to be allocated plots that worth the amount of money it paid for the land before its price got more expensive due to allotment. If the original amount of money exceeded the price of the plots, the municipality should pay the rest of the money back to the association. The rest of the land would be taken by the municipality for free to establish local facilities and public services.

municipality for land pooling and plans were prepared by the JM. The municipality according to a '*MahdarTakas*' gave the JM the housing plots and an area of land which was designated as a community centre. Other land for services was owned by the municipality. The JM constructed residential buildings of four storeys including four or eight flats. The JM handed the flats to its member in the early 1980s in return for instalments.

The third and fourth associations were established in the late 1970s. As with the cases of JKN and JM, land was purchased by the two housing associations and plots for housing development were allocated to the housing associations while the municipality took ownership of the rest of the land. However, in these two projects, plans were prepared by the municipality. The two associations developed the housing and handed it to their members. However, the development of housing did not finish until the late nineties as the associations had financial problems due to late payment of instalments by members (interview with the head of the RC of JTA).

In conclusion, housing was provided by the four housing associations while non-residential plots were all owned by the municipality of Aleppo, except for the plot of the community centre in JM. The municipality, with other public sector organizations, was to manage the provision of local facilities. The neighbourhood contained a wide range of facilities. Some of them were designated in the original detailed plans of the neighbourhood while others were added later.

Figure 6.3 Map of planned local facilities in Halab-AlJadeeda

Source: The researcher, based on maps from the Municpality of Aleppo

Figure 6.4 Map of existing local facilities in Halab-AlJadeeda

Source: The researcher, based on maps from the Municpality of Aleppo

6.3.1.3 Facilities within the neighbourhood:

The original plan for the neighbourhood contained a variety of facilities: 15,900m^2 for local shopping centres divided into four plots, 4,000m^2 for a community centre, 2,800m^2 for a health centre, 65,000 m^2 for schools divided into eight plots, 14,200m^2 for nurseries divided into four plots, 12,500m^2 for mosques divide into three plots and 110,000m^2 for green spaces divided into 4 public gardens, eight smaller ones and green corridors. In addition, the plans contained 22,950m^2 of land divided into six plots for public services. However, the existing facilities are quite different from the planned ones:

In terms of shopping facilities and local centres different facilities were developed on the four plots designated as local shopping facilities: a local centre which contains a few shops, a restaurant and the offices of the Residents' committee of JKN (RCoJKN), which also provides a few services for residents, was provided on one of the plots since 1976; on another plot, a bakery shop was provided as well as offices for the general company for bakery (GCoB); construction of a seven storey shopping centre was almost completed on a third plot; while construction had just started in 2010 on the fourth plot to build another seven-storey shopping centre. In addition to the planned local shopping areas, there were a number of corner shops in the neighbourhood converted from garages or ground floors in residential buildings, totalling about 77 shops of a wide variety like food shops, clothes shops, barbers, stationery stores, etc. and 70 real estate agency offices. These shops had gradually opened in the parts of the neighbourhood developed by JKN and JKE. Only a few shops were developed in the other two parts. Construction of a small shopping centre was taking place on a plot designated for housing. A restaurant and café and a sports centre had been provided recently (2008) on the plot designated for a community centre in the original plans.

With regard to a community centre, this facility was provided neither as part of local and district centres, nor as a separate facility. However, four offices of RCs were established in the neighbourhood, one as part of the JKN local centre and three converted from residential flats. One office for the *Mokhtar* was also provided as a hall built within one of the green spaces in the neighbourhood. The RCs offices and the *Mokhtar* office provided some communal facilities.

In terms of health facilities, a local health centre of 1,400m^2 was provided in the neighbourhood in 2000 (this serves not only the local residents but also residents of the

surrounding neighbourhoods that do not have health centres); before this provision, health services were provided in two rooms donated by the JKN. A number of private clinics of various specialities are available in the neighbourhood; these are converted from ground floors in residential buildings. They increased gradually to about 15 clinics. Along with the private clinics, two private hospitals are provided and a third one was to open soon (2010). The three hospitals are provided on land designated for housing.

In terms of educational facilities, six schools were provided gradually in the neighbourhood in the years 1976, 1993, 2000, and 2002 on four areas of land designated for schools. Only two of these schools work in one shift while the other four work in two shifts. The construction has just finished of two other schools (2010), and the construction has just started of a ninth one (2009). Two public nurseries are provided; one was built in 2000 on land allocated for this purpose while the other has been provided as part of one of the primary schools. In addition to the public nurseries, four private ones were converted from ground floors in residential buildings from the late 1990s.

There are five mosques in the neighbourhood which were provided gradually since the late 1980s. Three of them were built on land allocated for this purpose of which one is still under construction; one was provided on a site designated as green area; and the fifth was provided on a site allocated for public uses services. In addition to the function of the mosque as a place of worship, the DoA approved the use of a multipurpose hall in one of the mosques for funeral and wedding services.

Two public gardens are provided in the neighbourhood on land designated for this purpose. The first one was opened in the late 1980s and the other was opened to the public in 2007. Both are walled and guarded, have trees, seats and playing areas for children. However, the new one is better maintained than the old one. Small green spaces in the neighbourhoods have plants and trees. Most of them are not well maintained except for those in the JM area and a green space in the JKN which has been newly (2007) planted and maintained.

Some facilities are available in the neighbourhood which are not serving the local neighbourhood in particular; some of them are even serving at the city level. A police station which serves the local neighbourhood and a few others surrounding it was built on land specified for public services. The second storey of the police station is used as the centre for a campaign against drugs, serving not only the whole city but the north

region of Syria. A phone and post centre is provided on one of the areas of land allocated for public use and serves the neighbourhood and its surroundings. On the same land the technical school is provided and this serves the whole city and its surroundings. A health centre for a specific speciality is provided on half of the plot allocated as local health centre and this serves the city level. Construction was almost completed of the Syndicate of Pharmacists centre on a plot allocated for public services; this will serve as administrative offices for the union of pharmacists at the city level and might include a café. The offices of the General Company of Bakery (GCoB) located on land specified for a local centre is also serving at the city level. Finally, a plan to provide a ten-storey mail centre (which is much taller than the three-storey buildings permitted in the building codes for this neighbourhood) on one of the areas of land allocated for public use is waiting for final approval from the municipality. Table (6.1) show the differences between standard, planned, and implemented land use for local facilities in Halab-AlJadeeda.

	Standards for local facilities		Planned local facilities	Implemented planned facilities		Unimplemented planned facilities	Provided unplanned facilities
				Implemented as designated in original plans	Implemented different from plans		
	For 2300p	For 35000p					
Shopping facilities/local centres and neighbourhood centres	34,500m^2 divided into: 11,500m^2 local centres + 23,000m^2 service centre	52,500m^2: 17,500m^2+ 35,000m^2	15,900m^2 Divided into 4 plots	2,400m^2 Built 4,200m^2 (7 stories shopping centre under construction through BOT contract) 4,500m^2 constructed by the municipality but not used	4,800m2Used as administrative offices for the GCB		77 private corner shops+70 real estate offices 1,200m^2 under construction to be a small shopping centre
Community centre	Should be included within the local centre and service centre		4,000m^2		4,000m^2 used as private cafe, restaurant and a sport centre		
Health centre	3,833m^2	5,833m2	2,800m^2	1,400m^2 built	1,400m^2 (used as health centre at city level)		15 private clinics(one doctor, most doctors are specialised) + 3private hospitals(of different of speciality)
Schools	60.950m^2	92,750m^2: (56000m^2+36750m^2)	65,000m^2	33,750m^2 built and used 5,000m^2 under construction 13,000^2 constructed recently but still not opened	9,250m^2 used at city level	4,000m^2 not built (planted with few plants)	
Nursery	11,500m^2	17,500m^2	14,200m^2	4.200m^2 built		10,000m^2 not built	4 private nurseries converted from ground floors of residential buildings Few classes as part of a primary school
Religious buildings	Should be included within the local centre and service centre		12,500m^2	7.500m^2 built 5,000m^2 under construction			2,000^2 built (converted from green area) 7,200m^2 built (converted from land specified for public uses)

Recreational facilities Green spaces ,playing area and Public garden	92.000m^2 divided into 69.000m^2+23.000m^2 public garden	140,000m^2 divided into: 105,000m^2+35.000m^2	110,000m^2	21,000m^2 (plants, seats and small playing area for children) (JKN) 8,000m^2 recently planted with trees (SD) 48,500m^2 plants , seats and playing area for children.(serving the local neighbourhood and its adjacent) (funded by international organisation) 3,000m^2 planted and maintained by the RC of JM	2,000m^2 developed as a religious building	30,000m^2 left as empty lands with only a few plants	
Areas specified for public services			22,950m^2 divided into six plots	7,200m^2 used as a religious centre	2,800m^2 Police station (serve the local neighbourhoods and its surrounding neighbourhoods) as well as a police department at city level	2,950m^2 Plans to be used as a (10 stories administration and central post centre serving at city level)	
					2,800m^2 centre of Syndicate of pharmacists(city level)		
					3,600m^2 Post and phone centre (used to serve at higher level than the local neighbourhood) 3,600m^2 College (city level)		

Table 6.1 Standard, planned, and implemented land use for local facilities in Halab-AlJadeea

6.3.1.4 Analysing of governance process in the provision of facilities in the neighbourhood

Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

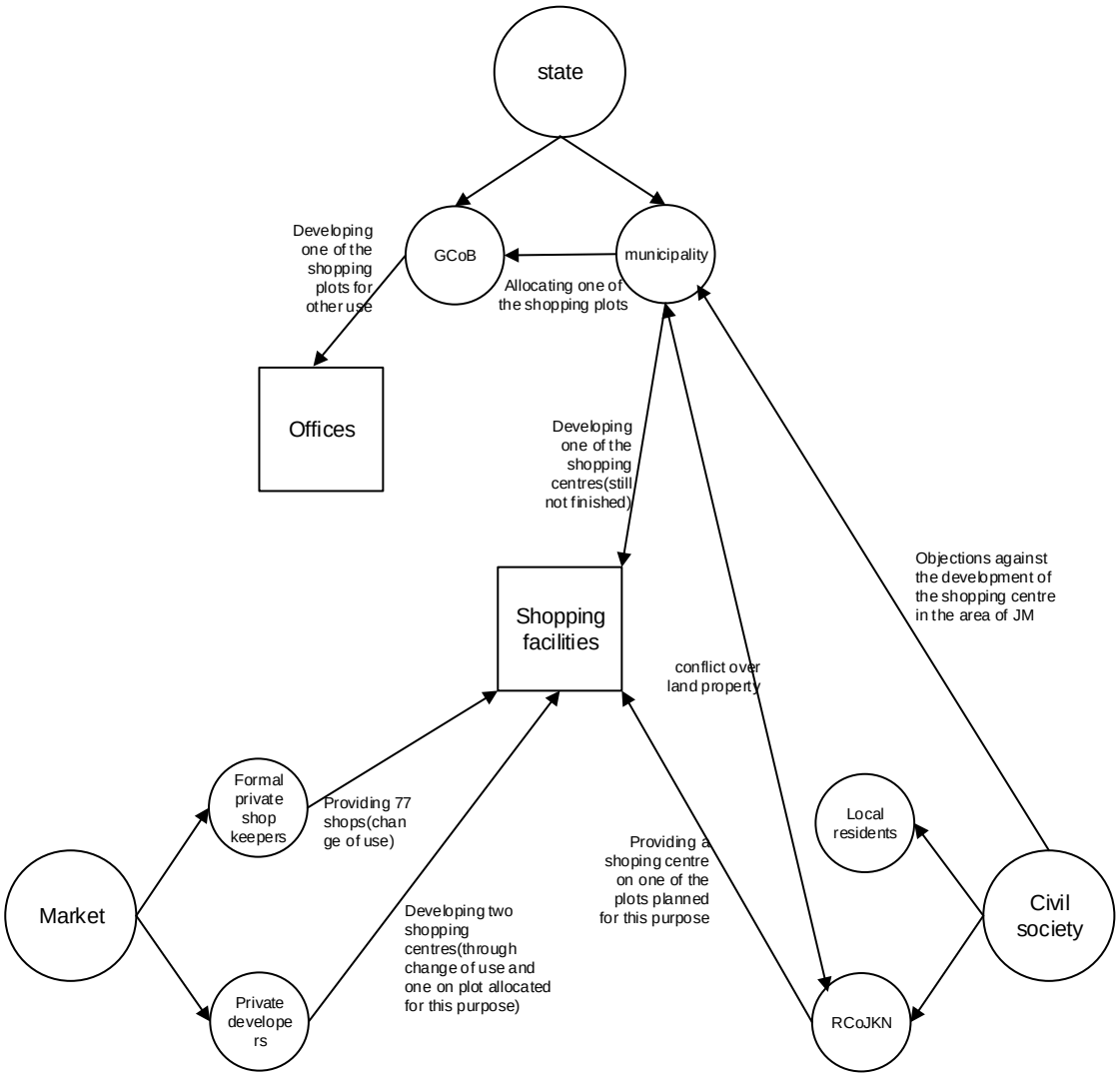


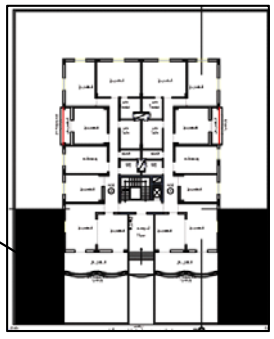
Figure 6.5 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

The shopping centre of JKN (source: the researcher)

The 6 storey shopping centre on land allocated for housing (source: the researcher from advertisement of the centre)

The 7 storey shopping centre on a plot allocated for this purpose (Source: the researcher)

Part of the garden in the ground floor which could be used to as a garage for the car or left as a garden



Garages in residential buildings converted into shops (Source: Adapted by the researcher from a plan of one of the residential area in the neighbourhood

Figure 6.6 Shopping facilities within Halab-AlJadeeda

Actors, roles and relationships

In the detailed plans four plots were designated for local centres. The municipality in the early 1980s allocated one of the plots within the JKN area to the GCB to develop a bakery and a convenience store[52]. Yet, the GCB developed a bakery and administrative offices instead of the convenience store[53] . The RC in the JKN area developed the second plot within the area in 1976 as a local centre without formal agreement with the municipality. At that time the municipality took no action against the development. However, in 2008, the municipality closed the local centre for a whole month on the grounds that the centre was built without formal approval. It was later reopened; a legal case was carried on to resolve the issue (interviews)[54]. In the JM area the municipality constructed a shopping centre on the third plot. The building of the shopping centre was much higher than permitted in the area's building codes, thus, the adjacent neighbours objected to the municipality and work on the project was put on hold. The municipality allocated the fourth plot in 2009 to a private developer to develop a shopping centre through a BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) contract. In 2010 initial work started on the project and the shopping centre was aimed to open in 2012, but the project stopped due to the 2011 unrest.

In addition to the planned local shopping centres, unplanned shopping facilities were also provided by private developers through changes of use. Private developers have turned a number of garages and ground floors of residential buildings into shops, particularly in the areas of JKN and JKE. Most of these changes have got formal approval from the municipality; only a few have been provided informally. In JM area no garages were provided. Thus, private developers constructed a few shops on the plot allocated for the community centre, which had lain undeveloped for a long time. When development of the plot started, the shops were moved to occupy part of the adjacent green area. On a larger scale, a private developer has also got permission for change of use from a plot

[52] Convenience store in Syria should sell goods in fixed prices.

[53] No further action was undertaken by monitoring bodies to make sure that the facility was delivered by the GCB as initially agreed.

[54] The RC defended their development; they claim that they had the right to benefit from this plot in return for pending payment[54].

designated for residential use to a shopping centre. The construction process had just begun in 2010.

Rules, resources, and rationalities

With regard to **rules**, in response to the norm that the state was the main provider of facilities, the municipality aimed to be the main provider of shopping facilities along with participation of other public sector organizations - in this case the general company of bakery. However, the 2001 economic reform also influenced the development of the shopping facilities in the later stage. In terms of planning standards for local and district centres, the original plans of Halab-AlJadeeda showed that the plans did not strictly adhere to the standards: firstly, plots were allocated as local shopping centres rather than local and district centres as specified in the standards; secondly, less land was allocated for local shopping centres than specified in the standards. Moreover, changes to building codes[55] which have permitted the development of a higher proportion of each plots and therefore a higher overall residential density, have worsened the shortage of local shopping facilities[56]. In terms of implementation and monitoring procedures, the case study revealed that no actions were taken to make sure that the designated land use for shopping centres was delivered, or that it was done in time in relation to housing provision. Moreover, laws and decisions permitting changes of use were viewed to have encouraged the change of use from residential to shopping facilities. However, this slightly differs among the four areas and also changed through time[57]. Finally, the building codes of the area for building height were breached by the shopping centres - apart from the one provided by the RC in JKN.

[55] To respond to the increase in land cost.

[56] E.g. the JKN area building codes allowed building a third of each plot with two side garages and this was changed later to building 50% of the plot with providing under level garage under the residential building. This in turn allowed land owner to develop higher number of flats in each residential building.

[57] In JKN area the building code allowed building two side garages in the early stage. The change of use was permitted from garages to shops, in the JKEs only some buildings had garages while others did not, in JM and JTA areas residential buildings were designed without garages and building codes prevented covering part of the ground floors gardens into shops.

In terms of **resources,** weak resources of municipality were noted by interviewees as an important reason for the delay in provision. The budget of the municipality was tight and had to be divided among many things that vary from year to year. Shopping centres did not come as a priority. The new reform and new forms of BOT contracts with the private sector were seen to have provided good sources of finance to the municipality as well as providing direct finance to build shopping facilities without these having to be provided directly by the municipality. Similarly, licensing change of uses to shops provided fund for the municipality. In addition, private sector was seen as a main source of fund in providing unplanned shopping facilities. Other source of fund came from civil society sectors as the RC in JKN built and operate a local centre.

In relation to **rationalities,** when asked about their rationalities for providing local centres, service centres or shopping facilities, both public and private providers were more focused on the importance of these as investments to provide profits rather than as local facilities. Much the same can be said about the change of use to corner shops and shopping centres, where the change of use was appreciated by the municipality as a source of revenue. Shopkeepers focused on providing certain types of facilities that were seen to be profitable rather than important to local residents. The value of these as a local facility was also less important for official and members of the private sector. Another important point was the difference in understanding the meaning of local centres and neighbourhood centres between policy makers, planners and providers. Policy makers distinguished between local and neighbourhood centres, while planners designated merely shopping centres.

Community centre

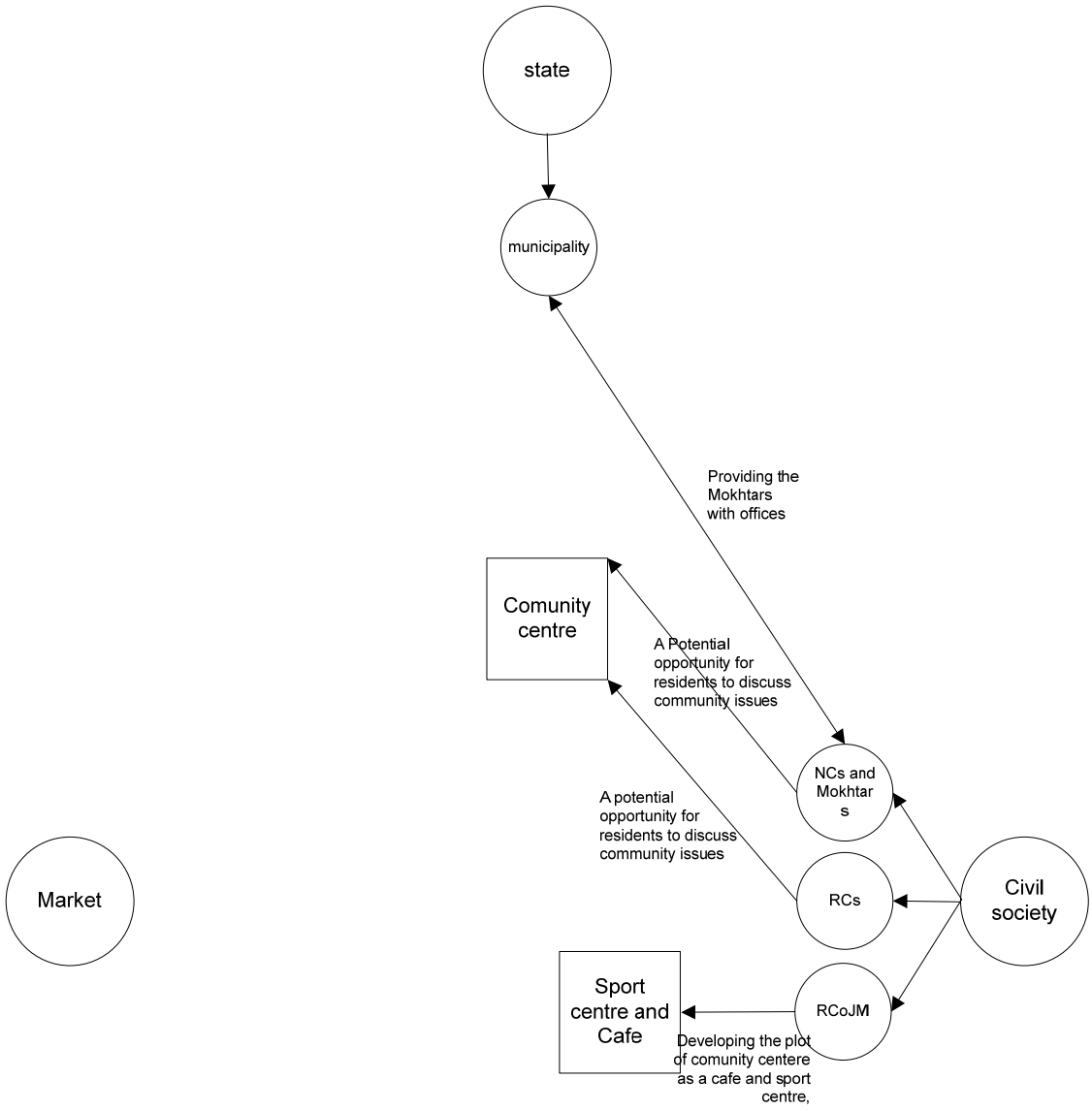


Figure 6.7 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing community centres

Actors, roles and relationships

Who was responsible for providing a community centre in the neighbourhood was not clear. According to planning standards, the municipality seemed to hold responsibility for this provision as a part of local centres. However, where a separate plot was allocated for

a community centre, and owned by the RC of JM[58], the latter was supposed to develop the community centre. In reality, a community centre was not provided in the existing JKN shopping centres and also not included as part of any of the other three that was under construction.

On the other hand, other types of community facilities were provided when the RC of the JKN used part of their shopping centre as an administrative office in which the RC undertakes its duties[59]. Likewise, the other three RCs had also provided their own centres with similar facilities, which are converted from flats in residential buildings[60]. The RC of JM provided better community facilities than the other RCs (e.g. a community hall with a ping-pong table and a small library); however, these services were only available for certain periods of time subject to decisions taken by the RCs' members. The RCs usually call meetings with residents to discuss local issues in the RCs centres. Therefore these centres can serve as meeting places to discuss community issues. However, only one of the residents interviewed mentioned attending such meetings and considered them as an opportunity to discuss issues related to the neighbourhood. Most of the resident interviewees were not aware of these meetings, apart from those held by the RC of JM. Moreover, those who were aware did not think much of these meetings. Thus, activities undertaken in the RC centres were mainly dependent on the activity of members of RCs as well as residents' desire to participate (Resident 7, Halab AlJadeeda).

The municipality has also recently provided an office for the *Mokhtar*[61]. The office is mainly used by the *Mokhtar* to undertake his formal responsibilities, while NCs are also supposed to meet regularly with the *Mokhtar* in this office to discuss local issues. However, attending these meetings is subject to activity of members of NCs. Residents reported that they rarely visited the *Mokhtar* office or the SD centre for any issues other

[58] As a result of the *Mahdar Takas.*

[59] Examples of facility provided are monitoring the conditions of services in the neighbourhood like the conditions of lighting, pavement, collecting garbage, maintenance of green spaces. The RCs collect small payments (for providing the services from residents).

[60]The flat is allocated from those provided by the housing association which each RC belong to.

[61]A single room constructed in one of the green spaces.

than to request administrative documents from the *Mokhtar* or to complain about issues like lighting, sewage or building regulation breaches.

Another important issue regarding providing a community centre in Halab-AlJadeeda was the provision of a cafe and sports centre by the RC of JM (2007) on the plot designated as a community centre[62]. The new centre was seen to serve mainly people from outside the neighbourhood. The development was not welcomed by most of the residents interviewed, as they were looking for a community centre that serves locals. At the same time residents were not invited to give their opinion on this issue.

Rules, resources and rationalities

As discussed above, responsibilities for providing the community centre are mixed and unclear. On the one hand, planning standards and local administration law suggested that the municipality should be responsible for the community centre as part of the local centre or as part of the municipality's general responsibility. On the other hand, the designation and allocation of a separate plot for this purpose suggested that the RC of JM should be responsible for the provision. This climate of uncertainty influenced the implementation and monitoring process of the community centre, as no actions were taken to ensure that the community centre was delivered, neither according to planning standards nor following the detailed plan.

In terms of resources, as the responsible body for the provision was not clear, resources for provision were difficult to obtain. The lack of resources was mentioned by the RC in JM as a reason for postponing the development of the plot designated for the community centre; nevertheless, the new forms of partnership with the private sector facilitated the development later on.

In terms of rationalities, interviews showed that the meaning of 'community centre' was not clear to some of the actors involved in the development. Planners allocated local shopping centres but not neighbourhood centres. When asked about the development of a café and sports centre on the plot designated as a community centre, interviewees from

[62] The development was undertaken through partnership between the RC and a private developer.

both the RC and the municipality did not see any problem. According to an interviewee from RC of JM, the RC aimed to generate profit out of the development of the community centre's plot in order to fund the RC's local projects and to help to reduce the fees collected from residents. When asked about communal activities provided by the RCs, it was clear that these were highly dependent on the opinions and activity of members of the RCs and also the available funds.

Health facilities

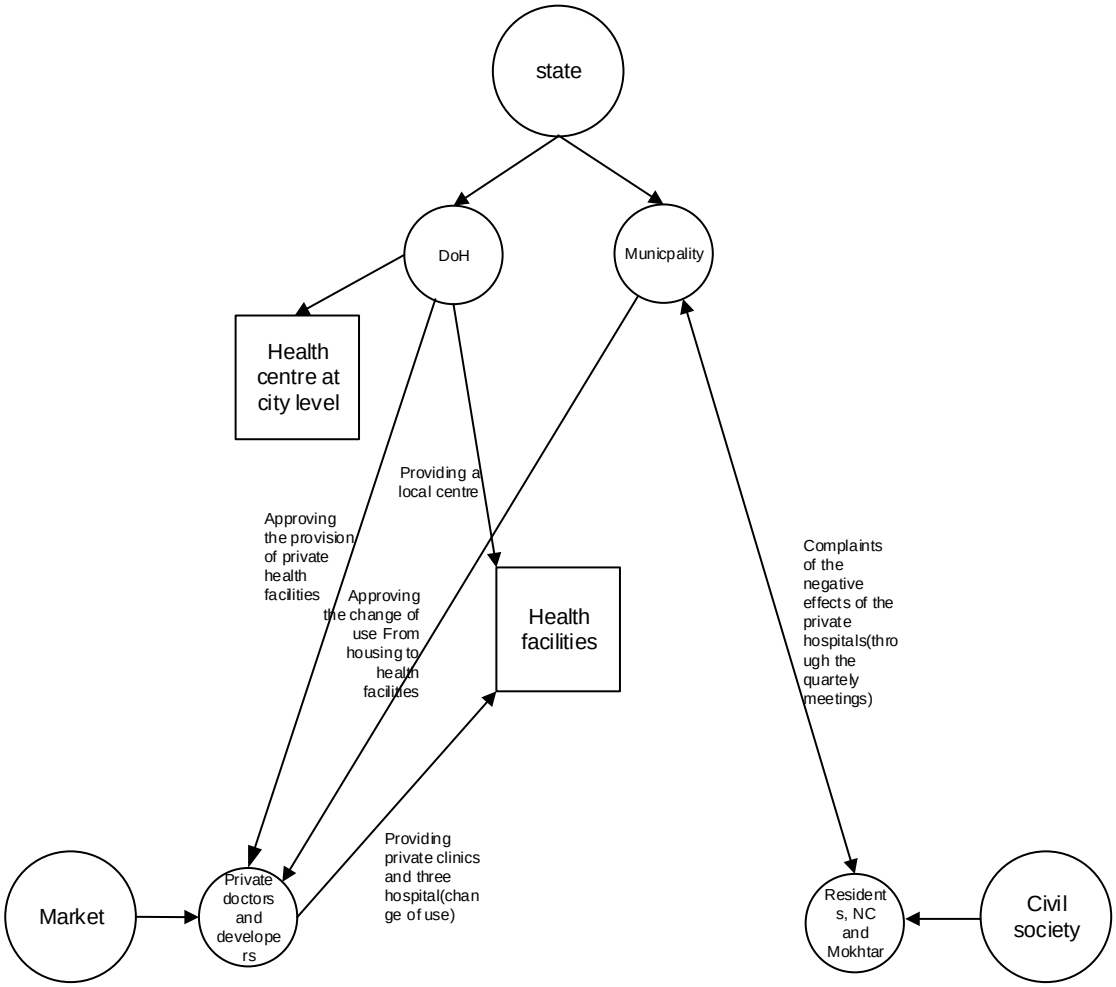


Figure 6.8 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing Health facilities

A six storey private hospital on a plot allocated for housing (Source: the researcher)

One of the hospitals converted from a residential building (Source: the researcher)

The local health centre (Source: the researcher)

Figure 6.9 Health facilities within Halab-AlJadeeda

Actors, roles and relatioships

Planners designated one plot as a local health centre which was smaller than specified in planning standards. The municipality transferred the property of the plot to the DoH free of charge in order for the DoH to develop a local health centre. However, it was not until 2000 that the DoH provided the health centre. Moreover, the DoH divided the plot into two parts. On one part a specialised centre serving a wider level than the local

neighbourhood[63] was provided. On the other part the DoH provided a local health centre which is also serving the local and adjacent neighbourhoods. However, before the provision of the health centre in 2000, two rooms in the RC of JKN centre were used as a health centre by the DoH to provide a primary health service. This centre was provided through a form of collaboration between the DoH and the RC in JKN[64].

In addition to the public health centre, private doctors provide health service through change of use of residential flats into medical clinics. On a larger scale private developers provided three hospitals, serving at the city level, on plots allocated for residential buildings (one of which was still not opened in 2010). The three hospitals are seen to be creating a parking problem as none of them has a car park[65]. The change of use from residential to health facilities followed the procedure explained in Ch4 regarding obtaining permissions from the municipality and MoH, but residents and their representatives (RC and NC) were not consulted.

Rules, resources, and rationalities

Planning standards were not strictly applied where a smaller area was planned for a local health centre. Implementation took a long time: monitoring failed to speed provision, or to ensure that implementation complied with the detailed plan. Laws licensing change of use controlled the provision of private health facilities, but provision was not undertaken through the procedure set out in law 5 for modifying master and detailed plans.

With regard to resources, the lack funds was claimed to have an influence on delaying the provision of the local health centre. This was also accompanied by lack of land for a

[63]A dermatology centre serves at the neighbourhood as well as at city level and also for the surrounding rural villages.

[64]According to an official in the DoH, the DoH requested through the municipality to be allocated a place to provide primary health services in the area (Interview 24, DoH). On the other hand, according to (Interviewee 6, RC), the RC requested the DoH to provide a health service in the two rooms of the RC centre.

[65] In one case, parking was supposed to be provided on part of the plot of one of the hospitals, but the developer later developed the parking area as health club.

specialised health centre at the city level, which encouraged the DoH to deduct half of the plot provided for the local health centre to build a specialised centre to serve the city level.

In terms of rationalities, officials in the DoH and workers in the local health centre addressed that the local centre did not specifically aim to provide a local health facility. For officials in the DoH, good socio-economic conditions of people in the neighbourhood justifies developing part of the allocated plot as a general health centre and using it at a wider level as residents were expected to not use the public health centre (interviews with officials of DoH). For the DoH officials, the need to respond to the shortage in both specialised facilities and general health facilities at the city level was more important than providing local general health centres at the neighbourhood level. On the contrary, for private developers, the good socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhood were seen as a motivation for developing private facilities, which can attract users from outside the neighbourhood in addition to the local residents who can afford the relatively high cost of private health care.

Schools

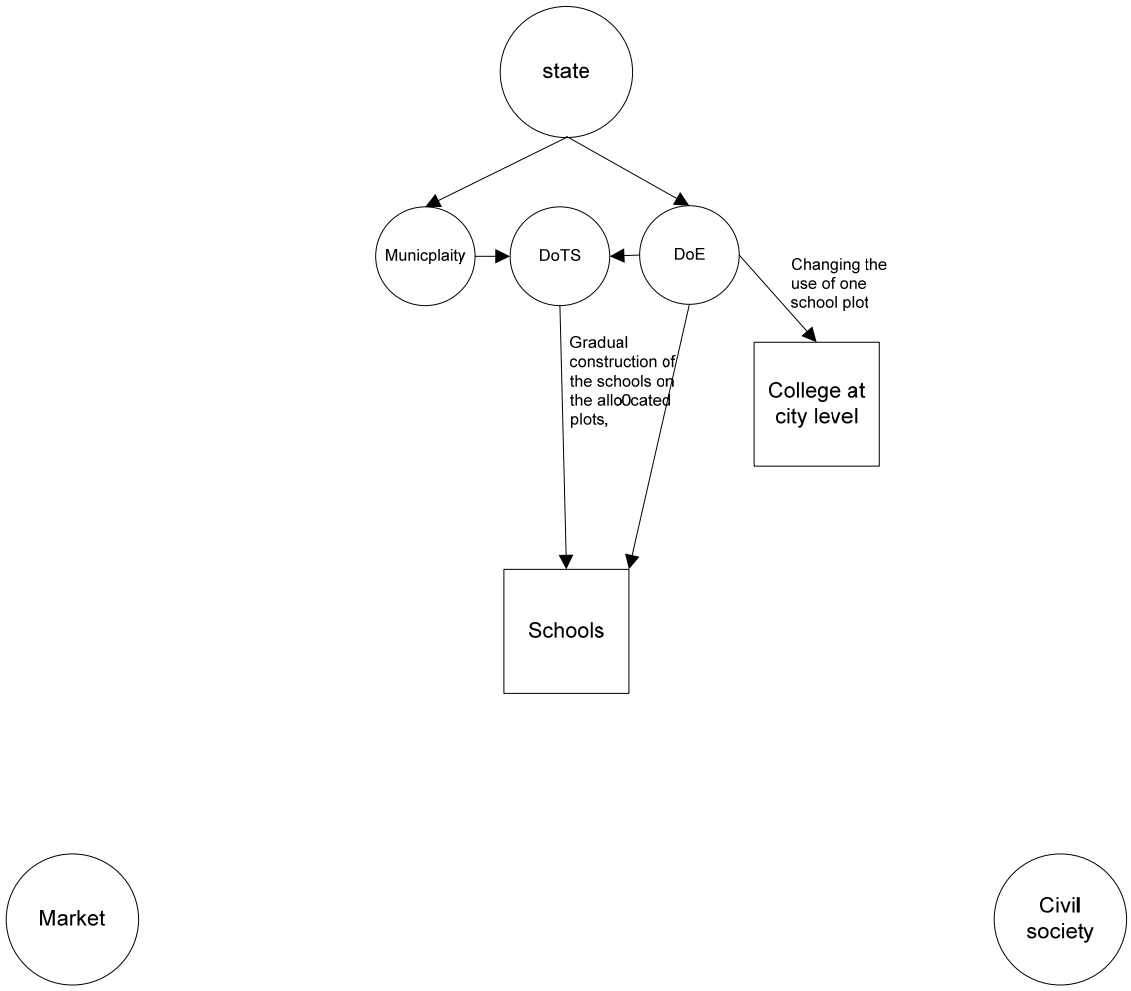


Figure 6.10 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing schools

Actors, roles and relationships

Planners designated eight plots for schools. The total area was slightly more than the specified standard. The municipality transferred the property of seven of these plots to the Directorate of Technical Services (DTS), which gradually constructed the schools in response to requests from the DoE, and then handed the buildings to the DoE to run the schools. The provision process was made over a long period of time. The DoE runs four of the schools in two shifts (to respond to the number of students from inside and outside the neighbourhood), one of the schools in one shift, while the sixth school has changed

function to a college serving at city level. Moreover, to respond to the increasing demand for schools, the DoE requested new schools from the DTS and had to build on larger proportions of the plots, at the expense of school playgrounds. On the eight plots residents, supported by the RC in JM, established a green space[66].

Rules, resources and rationalities

The involvement of three main public actors in the provision process was seen to be complicating the process as interaction among the actors was weak[67]. Moreover, the implementation and monitoring process was poor in terms of ensuring agreement between designated usages and implemented ones (i.e. the use as a college and as a green space). Moreover, the change of use from school to college was not made according to law 5 on modifying plans, but was simply carried out by the DoE.

In terms of resources, lack of funds was seen as a reason for delaying the delivery of schools and for running schools in two shifts. The shortage of land designated for schools at both city and local level also causes the usage of schools in two shifts. However, the ten-year plan intention to improve educational facilities was seen have affected the availability of resources and encouraged the delivery of schools since 2007.

In terms of rationalities for the provision process, officials from DoE explained that enrolling the largest number of students in schools and providing educational facilities at the city level was their main priority; the concept of locality and catchment area was not as important to officials of the DoE. Moreover, running schools in two shifts and a large number of students in one class were highly accepted (until 2007). Consequently the two shift norm of schools affected officials' perception of possibility of sharing schools' facilities with the community: schools were seen to lack the capacity for such activities, due to the long working hours, in addition to the poor equipment and to poor salaries of staff.

[66] According to (Resident 7, Halab-AlJadeeda) the area was planted with trees in order to prevent the building of the school as some residents living surrounding the plot wanted a green area instead.

[67] DoE was not directly informed of plots allocated for schools in the neighbourhood. Instead, it relied on requesting school buildings from the DTS.

Nurseries

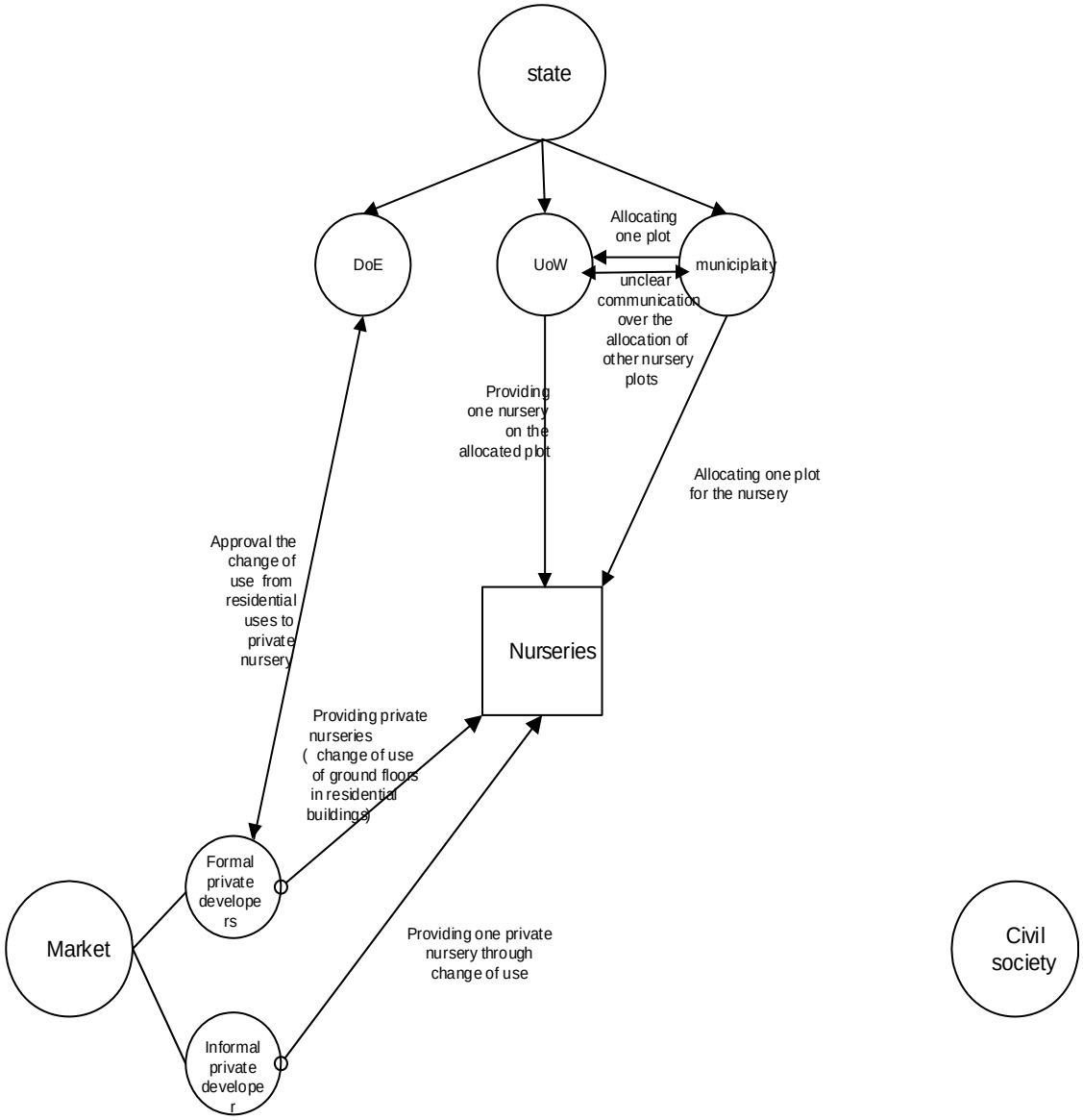


Figure 6.11 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing nurseries

Private nurseries converted from ground floors in residential buildings (Source: the researcher)

An empty plot specified for nurseries (Source: the researcher)

Figure 6.12 Nurseries within Halab-AlJadeeda

Actors, roles and relationships

It was not clear what was the body responsible for providing nurseries in the neighbourhood. Planners designated four plots to be developed as nurseries. It was not until 2000 that even one of the four plots was developed, in JM area by the UoW, which used the second floor of the nursery as a sports centre. The RC of JM had a role in activating the process of delivering the nursery through making a request to the municipality and the UoW to provide it[68]. The three other plots were still undeveloped in 2010. The municipality, which owned the three plots, did not make any attempt to allocate the plots to a developer. The NC requested the development of the nurseries several times during the recent quarterly meeting of 2010 and also during the annual public meeting held in 2010, but got no response[69]. Meantime, the municipality rejected private developers' applications for permission to develop private nurseries on one of the three available plots, claiming that these plots can be developed only by the public sector. The DoE finally provided a few classes for nursery children in one of the primary schools. As nursery plots were not yet developed, the DoE was planning to develop schools on some of these plots.

[68] The RC also offered to put appropriate fence the nursery but the UoW refused.

[69] Contradicted information was obtained on the three plots. The neighbourhood committeeand the Mokhtar, believed that the UoW owned the three plots, while the UoW claimed that they don't.

Private developers, on the other hand, have since 2000 provided five private nurseries through change of use of ground floors of residential buildings. Four of these were provided with formal approval from the municipality and MoE[70]. The fifth private nursery was provided without formal approval and no action was taken to stop it; personal connections may have played a role in turning a blind eye to such illegal provision (interview with an owner of formal private nurseries).

Rules, resources and rationalities

Planning standards were applied in designating land use for nurseries. Implementation was undertaken within the perception of the state as a main provider (through public institutions and civil society institutions that have strong links with the state). At the same time, the public provision process was hampered by the lack of clarity of which bodies were responsible for the provision, affecting the allocation, implementation and monitoring of these facilities. Sharing information among the possible responsible providers themselves and the community was weak with regard to land availability, acquisition and responsibility for development. Laws on licensing change of use and permitting development of private nurseries allowed the conversion from residential use to private nurseries. However, obtaining formal approvals was seen to be difficult.

In terms of resources, the lack of clarity about the responsible body makes it difficult to decide whether lack of resources had influenced the development of the nurseries. However, the shortages of school land prompted the DoE to request the development of schools on plots planned for nurseries which, if approved, would affect the provision of nurseries.

With regard to rationalities, planners showed commitment to planning standards where nurseries were considered as one of the local facilities. For the DoE, it was more important to develop schools on the nursery plots to overcome the shortage of schools at the city level. The UoW which developed one nursery showed more interest in generating profits than in providing a local facility according to planning standards. Neither DoE nor UoW

[70] . A private developer interviewee added that the provision must be approved by the government intelligence (private developer 13, Halab-AlJadeeda).

emphasised the importance of providing local nurseries to serve at the neighbourhood level, as their two nurseries functioned regardless of the catchment areas. Moreover, the lack of clarity about responsibilities encouraged the different actors to adopt an attitude of blaming others for the shortfall in provision of nurseries.

Religious buildings

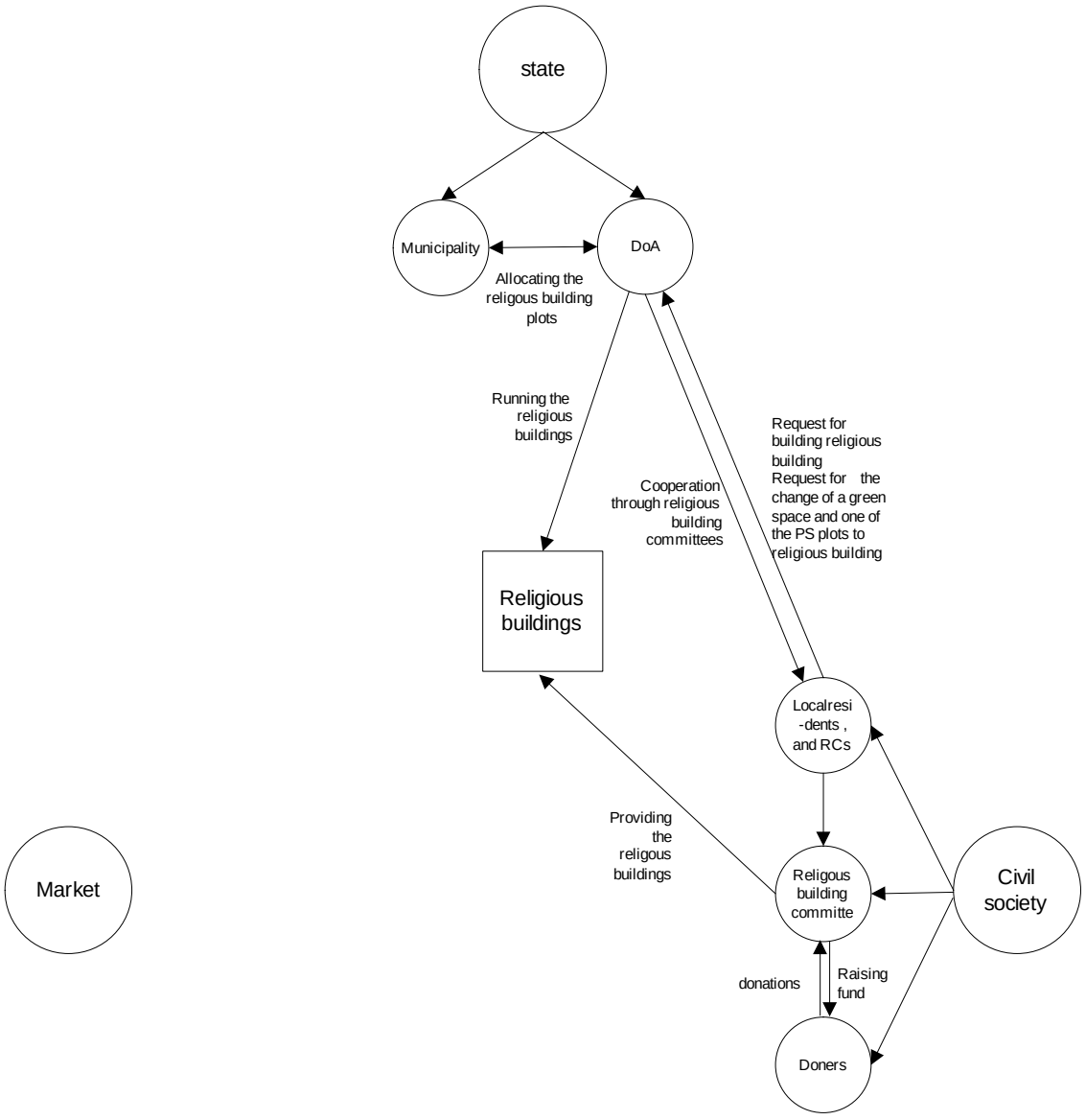


Figure 6.13 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing religious buildings

Actors, roles and relationships

Planners designated three areas of land for mosques. Local residents, either directly or organized by the RC in JKN, and RC in JM, played an important role in developing religious buildings in the neighbourhood. Residents approached the Municipality and the DoA for a permission to build two mosques on two plots designated for this purpose. They also requested permission to develop mosques on two plots designated respectively as a green area and a public uses area. The requests were approved and committees were formed by the DoA to collect donations and manage the construction of the four mosques. Moreover, an individual donor (from outside the neighbourhood) financed the construction of a fifth mosque on the third plot allocated for this purpose. Responsibilities for managing and maintaining the religious centres were handed to the DoA which organised activities (prayers; religious teaching; and some social events like wedding and funeral ceremonies). However, formal approval from the DoA needed to be obtained for teaching and social activities.

Rules, resources and rationalities

The trend that the state is the main developer was not applied in developing the mosques in Halab-AlJaeeda. The civil society had the main role in the provision process. There were no formal rules controlling the process as residents' activities were organised through the RCs and outside them subject to residents' willingness and ability to undertake provision. However, the municipality and the DoA welcomed this participation. In terms of planning standards, it was clear that religious buildings were planned separately from local and neighbourhood centres, as they should be according to the standards. Undertaking any activity in the mosques other than prayers was to be approved by the DoA, as this could not be managed by the local community.

In terms of resources, funds were raised to build the mosques through donation from the local community and from individuals outside the neighbourhood. Maintaining the mosques was undertaken by the DoA and supported by donations. Moreover, a shop was provided on the plot of one of the mosques; profits from the shop helped in financing the

maintenance of the mosque. The fees for using the facilities in the mosques for wedding and funeral occasions also helped to fund maintenance.

Perception of providing religious buildings was different between planning standards and planners; planners designated separate plots for the religious buildings. Members of the community and civil society in general were keen to donate money for building mosques, if they could afford it, as this is considered a charitable deed. This perception had also influenced the change of use from other uses to religious buildings. Civil society participation was appreciated and encouraged by the DoA, as it helped in saving DoA resources to be used for other projects.

Recreational greenspace facilities

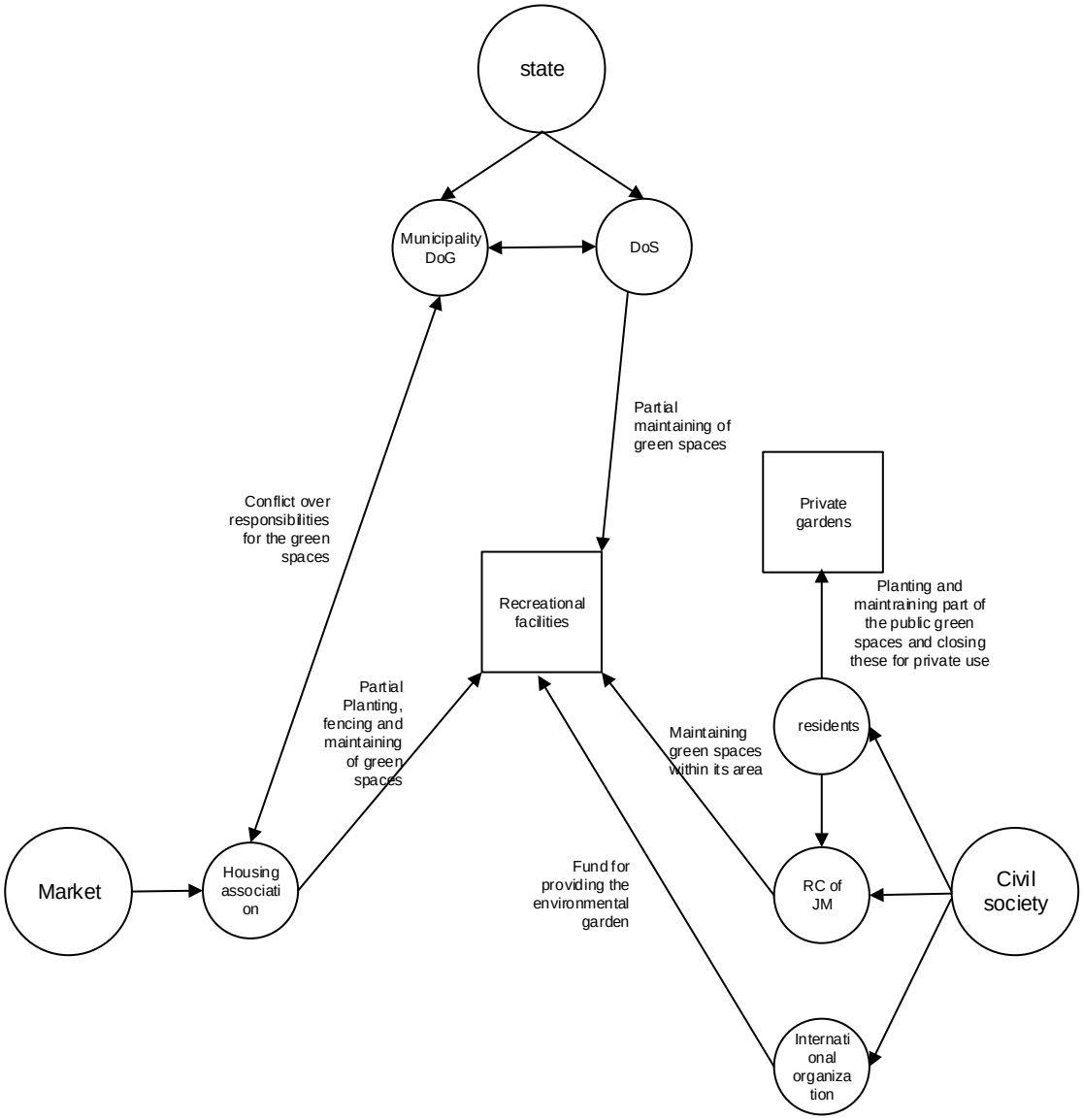


Figure 6.14 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing recreational facilities

Plots allocated for a small green spaces, walled and provided with a few plants (Source: the researcher)

The public garden in JKN area (Source: the researcher)

The environmental garden (Source: the researcher)

Figure 6.15 Greespaces within Halab-AlJadeeda

Actors, roles and relationships

The four housing associations were responsible for establishing and maintaining the green spaces within their development areas until this responsibility was transferred to the municipality when housing provision was completed. However, undertaking these responsibilities varied between the housing associations The JKN had five areas to develop as public gardens and green spaces, of which only one public garden was established (plants, seats, and a small playing area). The rest were only walled and provided with some plants. The JKE, JTA and JM had only played a minor role through providing some plants in the plots designated as green spaces within their areas. The

municipality has still not taken formal responsibility for all green spaces (i.e. those in JKN area) due to ongoing conflict over *Mahdar Takas* (Interviewees 5,6 -RC members).

However, in the JM area, civil society through the RC of JM played a significant role in caring for and maintaining the green spaces, though no seats or playing area were provided. The largest area designated as green space in the neighbourhood (the environmental garden) was established through a partnership between the municipality and a Turkish NGO which provided finance for establishing it. In 2007 a wide variety of plants, along with seats and a small playing area, were provided. A different role was played by civil society when some residents walled off part of the green spaces adjacent to their houses to join them with their private front gardens, restricting public access. From 2004 the SD became an important actor in maintaining and caring for the green spaces

Rules, resources and rationalities

The planning of green spaces did not adhere to the planning standards; the area designated for green spaces was less than the standard. Conflict about responsibilities over the provision of local facilities was affected by the lack of clarity and overlapping of roles in planning laws. This in turn affected the implementation and monitoring process, which proved to be inefficient. Moreover, the openness of planning laws to permitting change of use allowed the development of a religious building on a plot designated for a green space.

The resources of the housing associations were devoted mainly to housing development, and they tended to pay little attention to the development of green spaces in their area. Public funds for developing green spaces have to be obtained from the municipality (or the governorate), as the SD does not have its own fund. However, these funds were less than needed. The participation of the RC of JM, which has its own resources,[71] had a positive impact on developing and maintaining green spaces in the area.

[71] The RC of JM has its own resources from fees collected from residents and from the investment of the cafe and sports centre.

With regard to the rationalities for providing green areas, the attitude of both the public sector and housing associations was influenced by the limitation of resources. Besides, the limited resources were directed more to the planting, walling and maintenance of the green spaces, rather than to providing places for people to sit and relax or to providing playing areas for children. The RC of JM revealed a more extreme view on sitting and playing areas: that they were not welcome as they might attract people from outside the neighbourhoods, especially from poor areas. Moreover, the mixed responsibilities among the different actors contributed to the different actors' tendency to attribute blame: some housing associations blamed the municipality for being late in taking formal responsibility for the green spaces, while the municipality blamed the associations for the prior poor and random development of these green spaces.

Land allocated for public uses

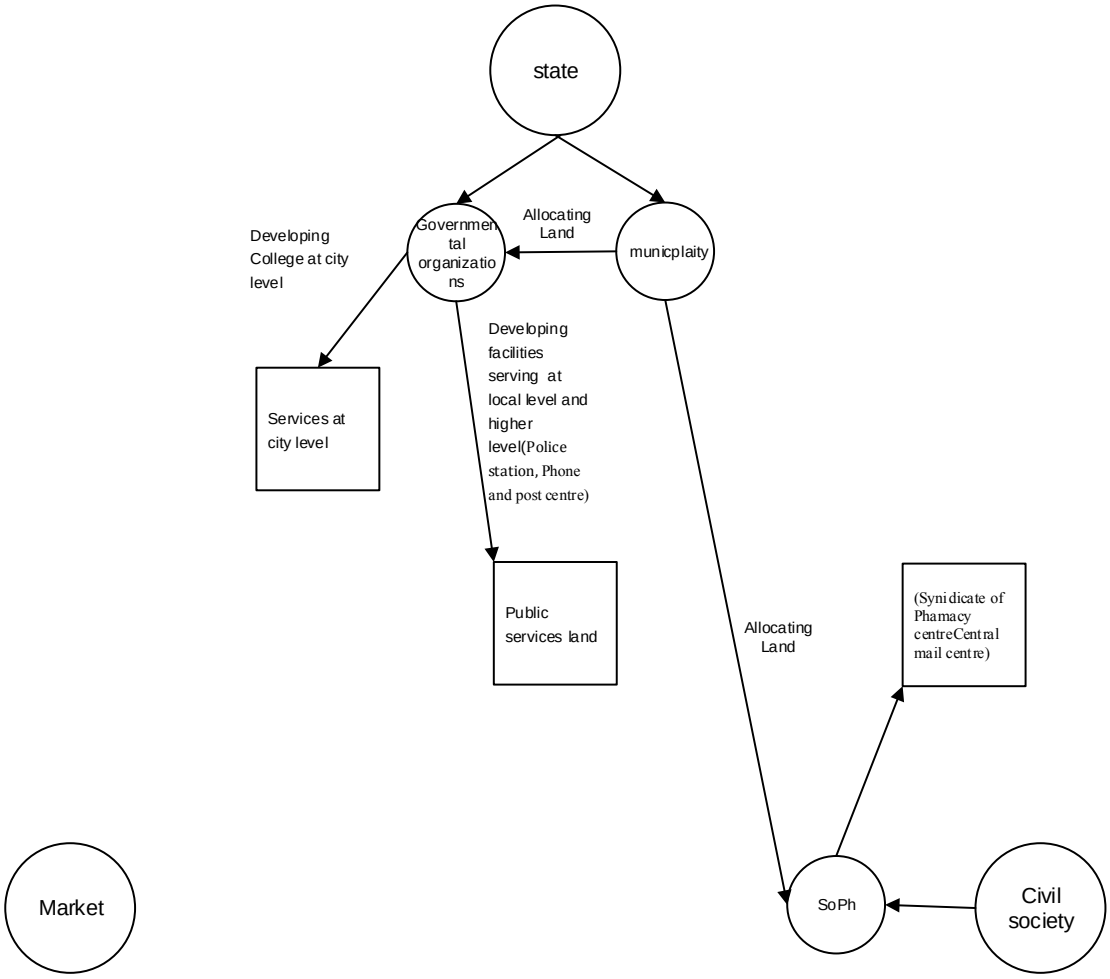


Figure 6.16 Halab-AlJadeeda Governance process for providing public services land

Actors, roles and relationships

In addition to the above mentioned local facilities, original detailed plans of land use in the neighbourhood contained six plots designated for public uses[72]. The municipality allocated three of these plots based on demands from different public and semi-public (civil society) organizations - the Syndicate of Pharmacists; the Police Command; and the General Company for Communications). These organizations respectively developed a centre for the Syndicate; a police station; and a phone and post centre. Moreover, the municipality was approached by the General Company of Communications with a request for a plot to develop a 10-storey centre of administrative offices and central post office. This request was approved by the urban committee and was still awaiting final approval from the city council[73]. There was no certain plan regarding the development of the other two plots, although a suggestion was made to advertise one of the plots to the private sector to develop a hotel.

Construction of the centre of SoPh was almost completed in 2010; this was going to be a facility at the city level. The second floor of the police station was used as a centre for the anti-drug campaign, which serves not only the city of Aleppo but the north region of Syria; the phone centre was developed on part of the allocated plot while a technical school, which serves at city level, was developed on the other part. However, residents and their representatives were not involved in decision-making over allocation of the public uses; the majority of them did not welcome the development of most of the facilities that were not serving their local neighbourhood.

[72]Land use distribution of residential neighbourhoods would include land specified for public uses, this land should be used, according to interviews with planners and professionals, for providing future local facilities that might be needed later (Interviewee 30, Municipality of Aleppo, Interviewee 31, Municipality of Aleppo). However, other interviewees expressed that this land can be used for any uses that are approved by the municipality.

[73] The project for developing the central post centre was likely going to be approved according to Iinterviewee 30, Municipality of Aleppo).

Rules, resources and rationalities

Decision on the allocation of public service plots was undertaken by the municipality. Approval of projects was subject to demand from the different organizations and approval by the municipality. The process did not follow the procedure set out in planning law 9 of 1974 for changing the use of land; public consultation was not undertaken when making any of the decisions on allocation of land. Moreover, the urban committee approved the provision of the ten-storey central mail centre despite this breaching the building codes for Halab-AlJadeeda in terms of building height.

In terms of resources, the scarcity of land allocated for services at the local and city level[74] affected decision over allocation of the plots designated for public service.

In terms of rationalities, while some professionals and planners consider public-uses land as an area to develop local facilities to respond to the future needs of residents, others see it as municipality-owned land that can serve at any level. The first group regarded the development of city level facilities within the residential neighbourhoods to be against planning laws; the other saw no problem in such use. However, community members (RCs, NCs and Residents) did not welcome the development of the city level facilities as these were seen to cause disturbance of residents and crowding and parking problems within the neighbourhood. Finally, it is worth saying that the public and semi-public organizations involved in development favoured developing their services in the western upper-middle income neighbourhood rather than in the middle income and lower-middle income ones.

[74] Some of this land was still undeveloped in 2010 while others were occupied by different facilities than planned for.

6.3.2 Hamdanya

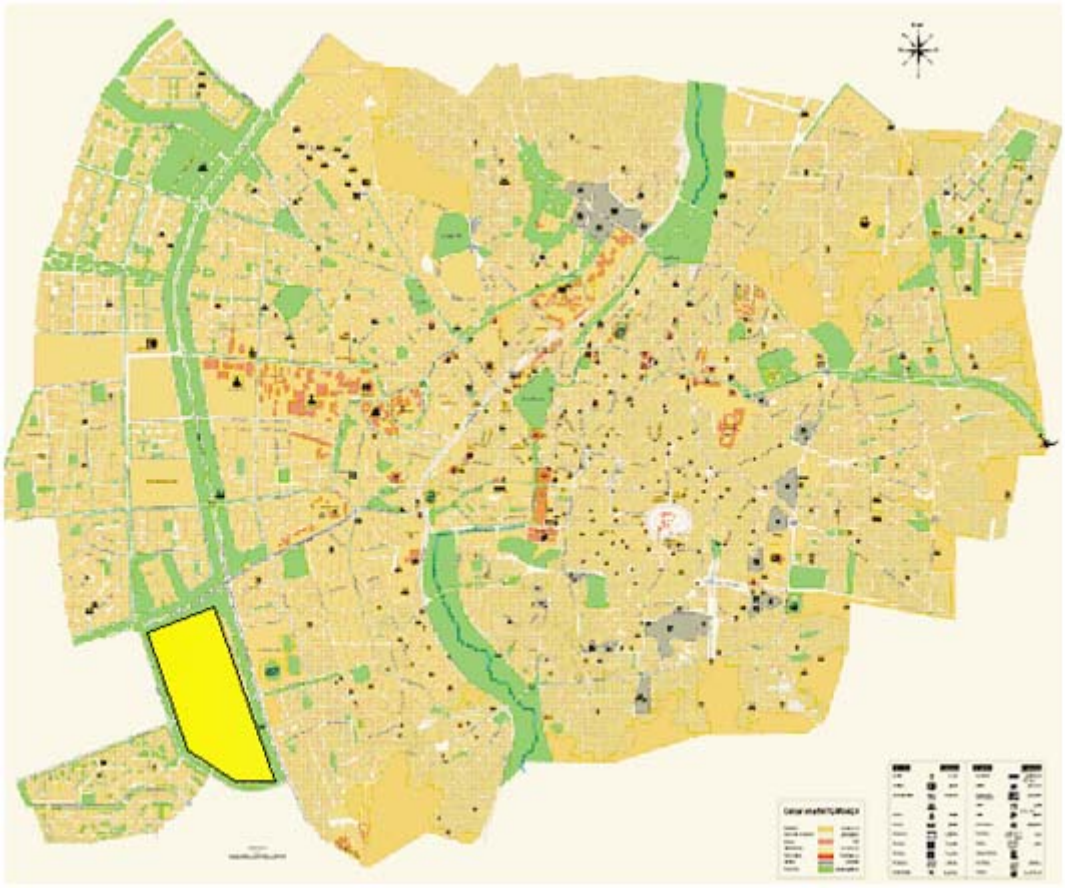


Figure 6.17 Location of Hamdanya

Source: Municipality of Aleppo, edited by the researcher

Detached villas

High rise building of 8 to 12 storeys

Terraced buildings (tenement) of 4 to 5 storeys

Figure 6.18 Housing typology with Hamdanya

Source: the researcher

6.3.2.1 Description of the neighbourhood and its facilities

Hamdanya neighbourhood is located on the south-western side of Aleppo, with an area of about 132ha. It is occupied by 38,000 people (according to the survey of 2007) but is planned to house up to 32,825. Moreover, population of the neighbourhoods slightly exceeded the surveyed number as illegal flats are built in of the gardens of many of the residential buildings[75], bringing the population of the neighbourhood to around 40,000. Building typology varies in the neighbourhood. It includes an area devoted to detached villas of two to three stories which house only one family in most cases; this area housed well-off families and is one of the most prestigious residential areas in Aleppo. The rest of the neighbourhood is divided into three areas with terraced buildings (tenements) of 4

[75] Residents in ground floors of residential building build extra small flats within their gardens to provide housing for their extended family members or to rent these flats for other families. Residents of these flats are more than 1000p (interview with Mokhtars).

to 5 stories and also some detached high rise buildings of 8 to 12 stories which host mainly middle-income families. All buildings are surrounded by private gardens that belong to residents of their ground floors. Many of these gardens in the terraced and high rise residential buildings are turned into either additional small flats or shops.

The development was initiated by the GCMH as an endeavour to solve housing problem for people of middle-income (Sha'abani 2007). The development of the neighbourhood was undertaken in three stages; one of the three residential areas was developed in each stage. Housing development was undertaken in a short period in comparison to other neighbourhoods. The residents started to arrive in the neighbourhood in the early eighties and it was fully occupied by the late eighties, except for the villa area which still has some unoccupied houses.

6.3.2.2 Planning and housing

Even though the neighbourhood was initiated as part of the government's attempt to provide new neighbourhoods to respond to the increasing need for housing, it was mainly directed to provide housing for members of the military[76]. The GCMH expropriated the land; it prepared the plan and started the implementation process without the formal approval of the municipality. The original plan was made with the help of Russian and Greek experts. It included 4 main residential areas, of which one was designated for detached villas; the other two were designated for a mix of tenements of four to five stories and high rise buildings of eight to twelve stories; and the fourth was designated for a large green space and for tourism. The green space was later reduced, the touristic facilities were cancelled and the fourth area was merged with the villa area and developed as housing. The Hamdanya neighbourhood was only recognised by the municipality in the preparation of the new master plan since 1997; however, it was not until 1999 that the MLAE was informed of the plan for approval, and not until 2009-2010 that the approved plan was submitted formally to the municipality of Aleppo.

[76] The GCMH was one of the public organizations responsible for providing housing and it had wide authority which helps undertaking its project without consulting planning authorities.

In terms of housing implementation, housing was constructed by the GCMH; the villas were sold for very high prices. In terms of the three other residential areas, housing was sold mainly to members of the military who applied for housing in this project. Some buildings were also allocated to house people who had lost their original houses[77]. Some housing associations, like JM, also bought some buildings to provide housing for their members. These housing units later entered the housing market and the flats were sold to other people[78]. In addition to the housing, the neighbourhood includes a wide range of facilities. Land specified for facilities was kept as a property of the GCMH awaiting development by relevant organizations.

[77] Illegal residences demolished by the municipality due mainly to poor construction.

[78] Many people who were allocated flats only bought these flats to sell them on at higher prices. Other people also chose to sell houses to move to different areas with better socio-economic conditions.

Figure 6.19 Map of planned local facilities in Hamdanya

Source: GCMH, edited by the researcher

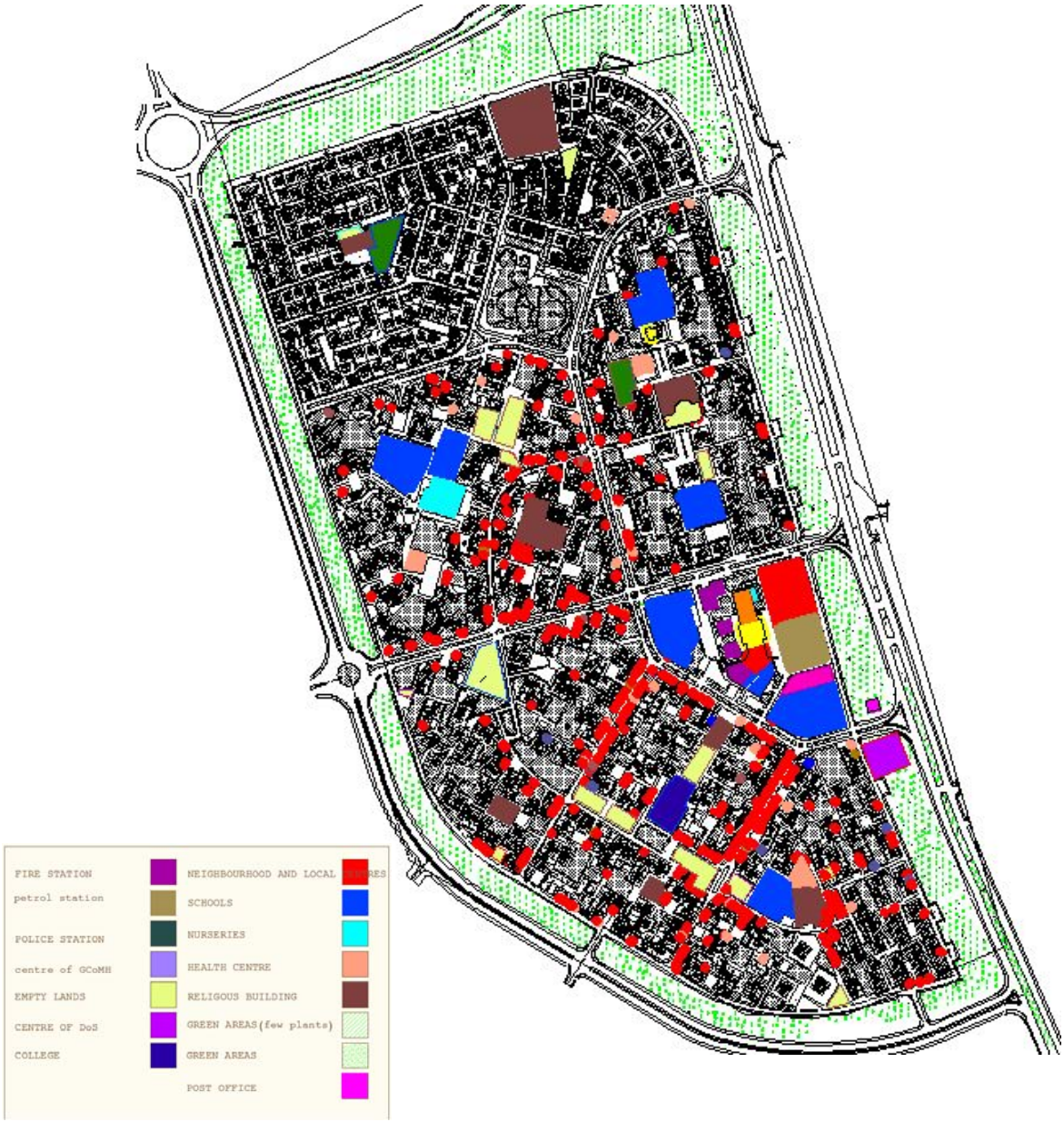


Figure 6.20 Map of existing local facilities in Hamdanya

Source: the researcher, based on maps from the GCMH

6.3.2.3 Facilities within the neighbourhood:

The original plan of the neighbourhood contains a variety of facilities, but this was amended and new plans were issued in 1999 to include even more facilities as follow: 20,00m^2 divided into 9,800m^2 for small groups of shops (divided into 13 plots), and 12,500m^2 for a district centre, which was designed to have about 80 shops, a convenience store, two multipurpose halls and a nursery, as well as additional space with no specific use and generous parking space; 2,600m^2 for a health centre; 77,900m^2 for schools divided into 14 plots; 12,450m^2 for nurseries divided into 7 plots; 30,500m^2 for mosques divide into 8 plots; for green and open spaces 250,000 m^2, of which 32,825m^2 are specified for small gardens and 34,000m^2 for a public garden. In addition, the plans contained 20,000m^2 of land divided into 7 plots for cultural and administrative facilities.

However, the existing facilities are quite different from the planned ones. The district centre was not opened till mid 1990s and of the 80 shops of the district centre only about 20 have opened. The nursery and the convenience store have been closed recently. Part of the centre was developed as offices for *AlJamaheer* newspaper (which is a public newspaper); this centre was converted to a private school and another part of the local centre was turned into offices for *AlJamaheer* newspaper. Of the 9,800m^2 allocated for smaller shopping centres (group of a few shops), a number of the plots were built and run since mid 1990s, while a few were left as empty land. In terms of the community centre, the two halls that had potential to serve this function were privately rented for special occasions, e.g. weddings. In addition to these publicly provided shopping facilities, 409 private corner shops were provided gradually in the neighbourhood through adding premises to part of the front gardens of ground floors in residential buildings. Another 12 were built on the premises of religious buildings.

In terms of health facilities, a small public health centre was provided by converting a ground floor in one of the high rise buildings. This was meant to serve mainly employers of the military but was used to serve local people too. A health centre at city level (for specific diseases) was provided in the mid 1990s on the plot allocated for a health centre. In addition, 32 private clinics and 3 nurse clinics were provided through converting flats in ground floors or first floors of residential buildings into clinics, and one charity health centre was provided on part of one of the religious building plots.

In terms of educational facilities, 7 schools were provided gradually in the neighbourhood between 1980 and 1995. One of these schools works in one shift, while the others work in two shifts. Around a quarter of the land designated for schools was not built; most of this land remains empty and part of it is planted with few plants.

Only one public nursery was provided, in 1989. Another one was provided in the district centre. In addition to the public nurseries, 4 private ones were converted from ground floors in residential buildings. 7 mosques and one church have been provided gradually since 1990.

The main public garden was provided in 1995. It has trees, plants, seats and playing areas for children. Other green spaces in the neighbourhood are either equipped with some plants or are left empty; some of them are walled. Moreover, three plots converted from the green belt surrounding the neighbourhood were developed as a police station; a small centre for paying water-bills; a power station to serve the adjacent sport-city area and a centre for the SD.

Of the seven plots allocated for administrative and cultural facilities, three were developed for: the GCMH petrol station; a fire station; a bakery; and a post and phone centre. The rest of the plots were still not allocated in 2010.

The analysis of the governance processes in the provision of facilities in Hamdanya is provided in Appendix 6-1.

	Standard facilities		Planned local facilities	Implemented planned facilities		Unimplemented planned facilities	Provided unplanned facilities
	for 32,825p	For 38,000p		Implemented as planned	Implemented different from plans		
Shopping facilities/local centres+ neighbourhood centres	34,500m^2 divided into: 16,412m^2 small local centre +32,825m^2 neighbourhood centre	19,000m2+ 38,000m2	9,800m^2 Divided into 13 plots +12,500m^2 shopping centre	Local centre: 4,400m Built + Neighbourhood centre 12,500m^2 built but partially run: 20 shops opened Nursery (closed since 2007) Cafe (opened in 2008 and closed 2010) Conventional store (closed)	Part of the neighbourhood centre was used for facilities that do not serve the local neighbourhood Two multipurpose halls privately rented for special occasions e.g. weddings Offices of one of the public news paper	5,400m^2	409 private corner shops of which 13 are real estate office 12 shops built on part of the religious buildings centre
Community centre	Should be included within the local centre and service centre						
Health centre	5,470m^2	6,333m2	2,600m2		2,600m^2(used as health centre at city level)		32 private clinics(one doctor, few doctors are specialised) and 3 nurse clinics Military health centre converted from ground floor of a residential building GCMH health centre converted from part of the service centre

School	86,985m^2	100,000m^2	77,900m^2	59,800m^2	4,000m^2 used at wider level	17,000m^2	Private primary school which changed later to high school. converted from part of the service centre
Nursery	16,425m2	19,000m2	12,450m^2	3,600m^2 built		8,850 not built	4 private nurseries converted from ground floors of residential buildings
Religious buildings	Should be included within the local centre and service centre		30,500m^2 Planned in the amended plans of which some areas where originally planned as green spaces	30,500m^2			
Recreational facilities: Green spaces, play area and Public gardens	146,000m^2	170,000m^2	Wide area for green and open spaces including 34,000 m^2 for a public garden	34,00m^2 public garden for the neighbourhood		Other green areas are either partially established or left as empty plots	
Public services (cultural and administrative uses)			20,000m^2 of land divided into 7 plots	Five of the seven cultural and administrative facilities' plots were used as: administrative offices of the GCMH; a petrol station; a fire station; a post centre.		Two of the seven plots are still empty	6,800 m2 centre of SD and 400m2 police station were built within the green belt

Table 6.2 Standard, planned, and implemented land use for local facilities in Hamdanya

6.3.3 Hanano

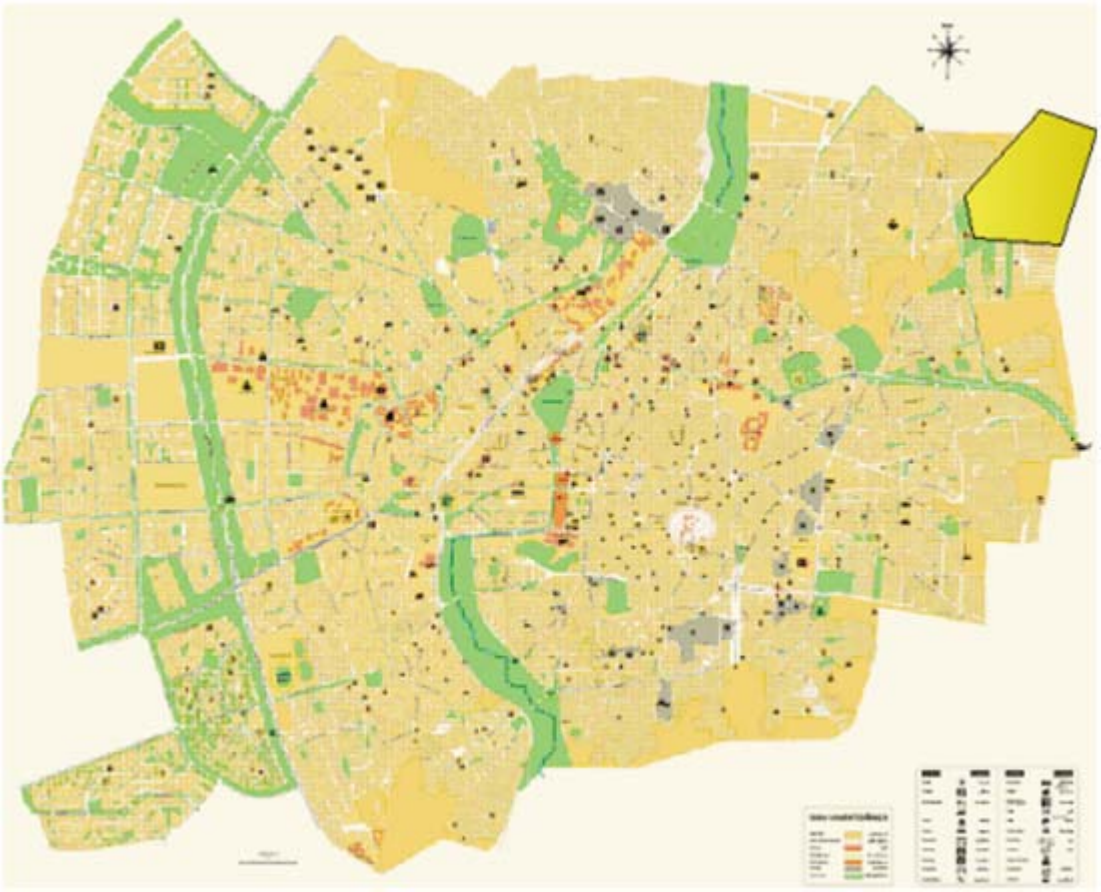


Figure 6.21 Location of Hanano

Source: Municipality of Aleppo, edited by the researcher

Figure 6.22 The Informal residential areas surrounding Hanano
Source: the researcher

6.3.3.1 Description of the neighbourhood and its facilities

Hanano neighbourhood is located on the eastern edge of Aleppo, with an area of about 125 ha. The neighbourhood was originally planned to host about 30,000p, but in 2010 was house to about 52,000 people[79], and was expected to host more population, as some residential buildings were still under construction. Building typology is of 5-storey tenement with no private gardens at the ground level. The neighbourhood is considered to be for lower-middle income and low-income people. It is also surrounded by informal settlements of low-income people. The population of the surrounding informal settlements is about a hundred-thousand people. An adjacent formal area also depends on

[79] The planned number is based on the number of flats available multiplied by 5 which is the average household size in the planning standards, while the current number is obtained from interviews with the *Mokhtars* and the population survey.

Hanano's facilities. The planned population of this adjacent area is 18,000 people, but it is occupied by about 32,000 p.

As with Hamdanya, Hanano neighbourhood was planned as part of the government's attempt to provide housing for lower income people. The area was designated in the 1974 master plan as a green area and was later changed into a residential area by the municipality. The development of the area was undertaken during different periods of time. Development of the first parted started in the late 1970s and residents arrived in the early 1980s. Development of the rest of the neighbourhood has been undertaken gradually. The majority of the residential blocks were constructed by the late 1990s, apart from the development of the commercial street[80], which was started after 2000 and was finished only recently.

6.3.3.2 Planning and housing

The neighbourhood was planned by the Municipality of Aleppo; land was expropriated by the municipality to provide housing for low income people. The municipality then appointed different public sector organizations to construct the housing. Housing allocation was managed by the municipality either directly[81] or through allocating housing to different housing associations affiliated to different public organizations (e.g. housing association of the workers' union, the police). The development and the allocation of housing were made over a long period of time. Residents started to arrive in the neighbourhood in the early 1980s. In the late nineties most of the housing was occupied. The commercial street was developed in a further stage that was finishing in 2010.

Original plans of the neighbourhood included a wide variety of services to provide all residents' needs. Land specified for facilities was owned by the municipality pending development by the relevant public sector organizations.

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[80] The commercial street is a main street with blocks on both sides, these blocks includes shops in ground floors and residencies in the four upper floors.

[81] The direct allocation of housing by the municipality was mainly to people who were allocated housing when evacuated from their original informal houses in other parts of the city due to possible threat of collapsing or due to urban development.

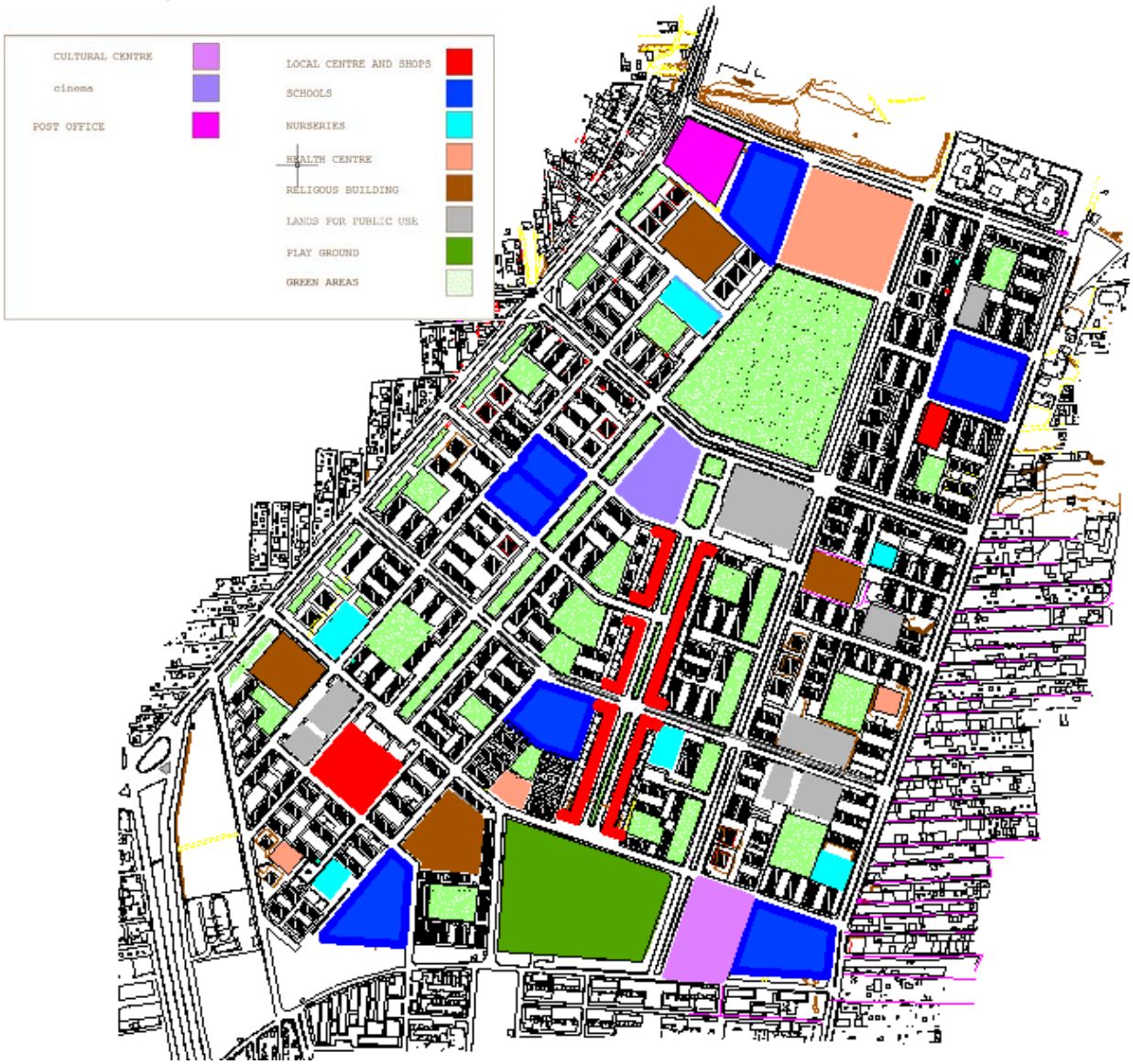

Figure 6.23 Planned local facilities in Hanano

Source: the researcher, based on maps from the Municipality of Aleppo

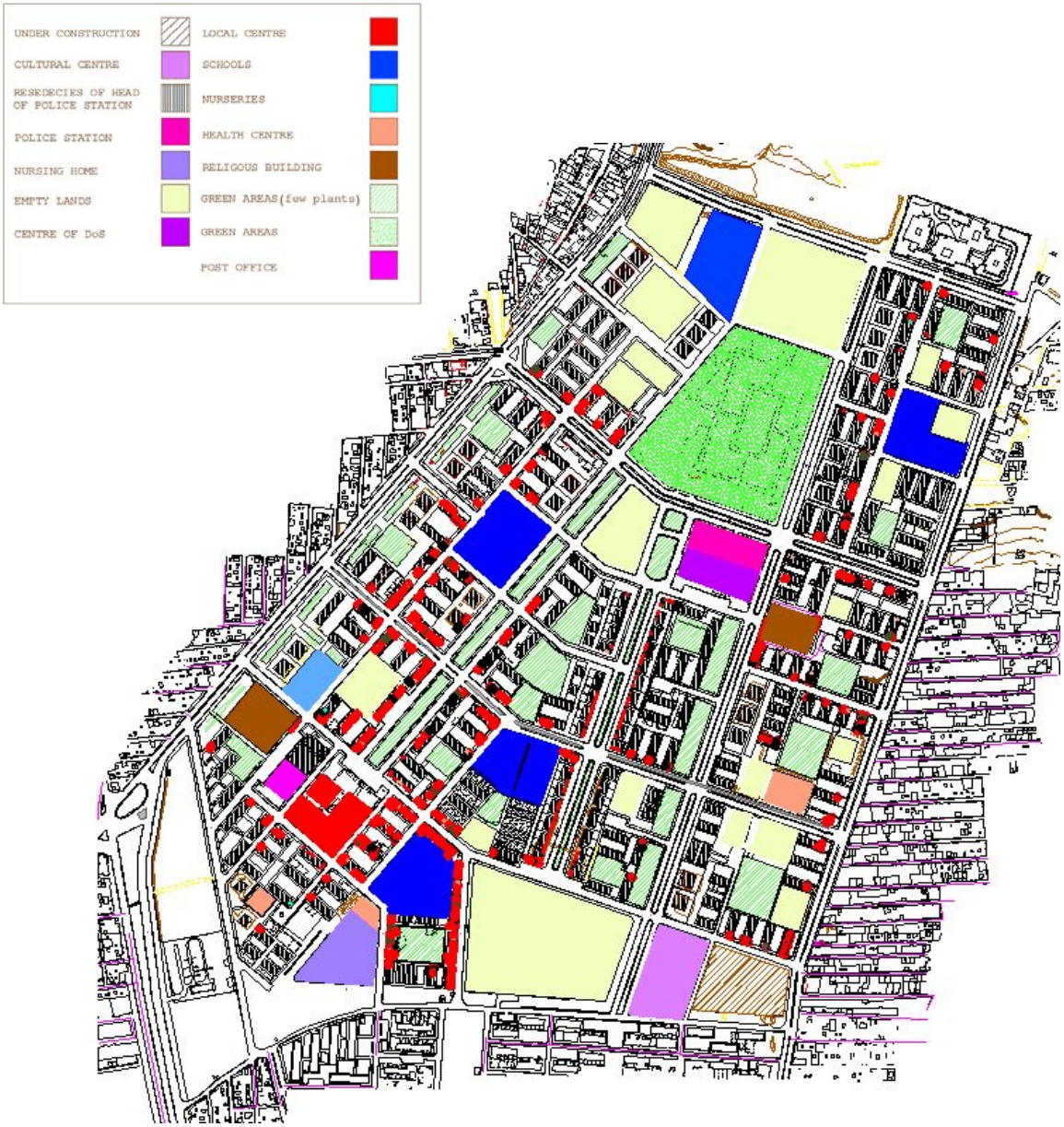

Figure 6.24 Existing local facilities in Hanano

Source: the researcher, based on maps from the Municipality of Aleppo

6.3.3.3 Facilities within the neighbourhood:

The original plan for the neighbourhood contains a variety of facilities: 20,600m^2 for local centres and shops divided into 12,000 m^2 for a local centre, 2400 m^2 for a convenience store and 6,200m^2 for shops in ground floors of the central residential buildings(the high street); 5,000m^2 for a health centre divided into 3 plots and 25,300m^2 for a hospital; 69,000m^2 for schools divided into six plots; 14,900m^2 for nurseries divided into six plots; 31,500m^2 for mosques divide into four plots and 145,000m^2 for green and spaces divided into a 60,000m public garden and a number of smaller gardens and green corridors; 44,000 m^2 for a playground. 12,800m^2 for a cultural centre; 8,800m^2 for cinema and 9,700m^2 for a phone and post centre. In addition, the plans contained 33,600 m^2 of land divided into six plots with no specific land use which meant to be used according to future needs.

However, the existing facilities are quite different from the planned ones. On the plot specified as a local centre, a small shopping centre of about 1500m^2 was provided in the early 1990s. This contains 44 small shops of which only about one third are opened (due possibly to the poor maintenance, poor design, and safety of the centre, the complex lease with the municipality that had to be renewed every year, as expressed by members of RCs and by shop keepers in the centre). In 2009 the rest of plot was developed, containing 427 small shops of which about 350 are opened. The construction process of the commercial street started after 2000 and has ended recently (2005-2007) with only two blocks still under construction. 167 shops in the high street are opened while another 90 shops are still vacant. In addition to these shopping facilities, 455 private corner shops were provided gradually in the neighbourhood and another 90 small stores are developed but not yet in operation. This provision was made through converting the front of ground floors in residential buildings into shops of a wide variety of types.

In terms of health facilities, a small health centre of 13,00m^2 was provided in the early nineties to serve people in the surrounding informal settlements as well as residents of the immediate neighbourhood. In 2003 a health centre (the comprehensive clinic) of about 3,200m^2 was provided to serve people inside the neighbourhood and in the surrounding areas. Along with this public health service 32 private clinics and 15 nursing clinics have been provided through converting flats in ground or first floors in residential buildings.

In terms of educational facilities, ten schools were provided gradually in the neighbourhood between 1989 and 2010 on 5 of the 6 areas of land allocated for this purpose (one of the 5 was re-allocated to be used for a religious building). The use of the sixth plot designated for schools was changed, and the plot was developed as a nursing home. One of these schools works in one shift while the others all work in two shifts. The schools are primary schools and high schools for girls, while boys have to go to high schools outside the neighbourhood.

Only one public nursery was provided in 1988 on one of the plots allocated for this purpose; two plots allocated for nurseries was changed to other uses. In addition to the public nurseries a few private ones were converted from ground floors in residential buildings.

Two mosques were provided in 1997 and in 2001. A third one is still under construction. However, before the building of these mosques, residents of the neighbourhood turned part of one of the open spaces into a prayer hall that they used pending construction of the mosques.

The main public garden was provided in 2001. It has trees, plants, seats and playing areas for children. Other green spaces in the neighbourhood are deserted; a few of them have a few plants. The playground is not developed, but youngsters and local teams use it anyway for football games.

Of the six plots allocated for public uses, two were developed as a post and phone centre (serves Hanano and the adjacent neighbourhoods); another one was developed as an inclusive clinic; one was developed as a police station (serving the local neighbourhood and its surrounding area) and residences for police officers. The rest of the plots were still not allocated for development in 2010 and no certain plans had been made for use of these plots.

With regard to cultural facilities, the cultural centre was developed in 2006, while the land specified for the cinema was still empty in 2010.

The analysis of the governance processes in the provision of facilities in Hanano is provided in Appendix 6-2.

	Standard facilities		Planned local facilities	Implemented planned facilities		Unimplemented facilities	Provided unplanned facilities
	for 30,890p	For 52,000p		Implemented as designated in original plans	Implemented different from original plans		
local centres+ service centres	34,500m^2 divided into: 15,000m^2 local centre +3,000m^2 service centre	26,000m2+52,000m2	2,600 m^2 divided into : 12,000m(local centre) 6,200m m^2 (high street) 2,400m m^2 (convenience store)	12,000m(local centre) 6,200m m^2 (commercial street)		2,400m m^2 (convenience store	394private shops 58 real estate office
Community centre	Should be included within the local centre and service centre						
Health centre	5,000m^2	8,666m^2	5,000m^2: 1,300m^2, 2.200m^2, 1,500m^2 + 25,300m^2 hospital		13,00m^2 used as health centre for the adjacent informal neighbourhood	2,200m^2,+ 1,500m^2	32private clinics(one doctor, few doctors are specialised) and 3 nurse clinics 3,200m2 public health centre (the comprehensive clinics) used for the local neighbourhoods and other formal and informal surrounding neighbourhoods (the facility was built on one of the public services plots)
School	81,855m^2		69,000m^2	65,000m2 built gradually	13,000 developed as a nursing home	4,000m2 not built	

Nursery	15,000m^2	26,000m^2	14,900m^2	3,500m^2		11,400m^2	Few informal private nurseries converted from ground floors of residential buildings
Religious buildings	Should be included within the local centre and service centre		31,500m^2 m^2	7,500m^2 4,800m^2	5,000m^2 not built		13,000(on plot swapped with a school plot)-was still under construction in 2010
Recreational facilities : Green spaces and play area+ Public garden	123,560m^{2+} 30,890m^2 public garden		Wide area for green and open spaces including 60,000m^2 main public garden	60,00m^2 established with plants, seats and small playing area for children			
Play grounds	30,890m^2	52,000m^2	44,000m^2			4,400m^2 Not developed	
Areas specified for public services			33,600: divided into 6 plots		1,200m2 Post and phone office ;the centre of the SD 5,500m2 developed as a health centre 5,500m2 developed as: a Police station and a residencies for head of police station	5,500m^2 3,200m^2 2,300m^2	

Table 6.3 Standard, planned, and implemented land use for local facilities in Hanano

6.4 A comparison of stakeholders: actors, roles and relationships in the three case study neighbourhoods

This section provides a comparison of the first category of the governance process over providing facilities in the three case study neighbourhoods following the analysis presented in the previous section (6.3) and in appendices 6-1 and 6-2. The different actors involved in the process, their roles and relationships are compared and contrasted between the different facilities and the different neighbourhoods. Appendix (6-3) summarises the stakeholders' diagrams for the different facilities in the three case studies. The next section will provide a comparison of the second category of governance process: rules, resources and rationalities.

6.4.1 Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

The three case studies showed that in general planned facilities were different from standard ones. Planners tended to designate shopping facilities, rather than neighbourhood and local centres. In the three neighbourhoods, areas designated for these facilities were smaller than set out in the planning standards. In addition, planned shopping facilities were usually delivered at a slow pace, apart from the local ones delivered by the RC; some of the shopping centres were still not developed in 2010. The use of some of the plots designated as shopping facilities was changed to other uses (e.g.in Halab-AlJadeeda land designated for one of the local shopping centres was changed to administrative offices of GCB). Unplanned shopping facilities were provided in all three neighbourhoods by private sector developers. However, the number of shops was much higher in Hamdanya and Hanano than in Halab-AlJadeeda. Provided private shops were formal in most cases in Halab-AlJadeeda and informal in most cases in Hamdanya and Hanano.

The public sector was the main actor in providing planned shopping facilities in all three case study neighbourhoods until the mid-2000s, when the private sector was permitted to participate formally in this provision. The only exception to this was the participation of the RC in Halab-AlJadeeda in providing one of the shopping centres. In all three case studies the public sector (the municipality in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano, and the GCMH in Hamdanya) was found to be unable to appropriately undertake this provision;

it could neither deliver the shopping facilities in time in relationship to development of housing, nor provide good quality. In Halab-AlJadeeda the municipality did not provide any of the shopping centres for a long time until after 2000 when the construction process of the shopping centre in JM area started, albeit at a slow pace. In Hamdanya and Hanano most of the shopping facilities were delivered long after the development of the housing. Some of the facilities (e.g. the two small convenience stores in Hamdanya) closed after only a few years. The provision of the public sector was marked by poor quality in some cases (the old part of the shopping centre in Hanano and the main shopping centre in Hamdanya facilities did not attract private investors). Therefore, it can be noticed that the state has favoured the middle income and lower-middle income neighbourhoods in terms of providing facilities quicker than in the upper-middle income neighbourhoods; however, this provision was mostly of poor quality.

Despite the above mentioned condition of public provision, the public sector kept dominating the formal provision of planned shopping facilities in the three neighbourhoods until the mid-2000s, when the private sector was invited to participate formally in this provision (e.g. the second part of the shopping centre in Hanano, and the second shopping centre in Halab-AlJadeeda). Despite the relatively short period since the private sector was permitted to step into the formal provision of planned facilities, the case studies showed that the private sector was active and quick in delivering the facilities. However, due to the short period for which it has been operating, the success of this provision is still difficult to evaluate.

Apart from the major role of the private sector in providing planned facilities later on, it proved to be particularly active in providing unplanned shopping facilities. This was essential, especially at the early stages of establishing the neighbourhoods when few of the planned shopping facilities were provided by the public sector. In all three neighbourhoods private developers provided corner shops through change of use that reached about 1000 shops in all three neighbourhoods, though the largest number were in Hamdanya and Hanano. However, the attitude of the municipality towards this provision has varied among the three neighbourhoods. In Halab-AlJadeeda, where building codes permitted the change of use from residential to shops, the change of use was formally approved. In Hamdanya and Hanano such changes were not permitted but no serious

actions were taken by the municipality against the illegal provision, so that the government effectively turned a blind eye to this development. Interviewee (65, SD) suggested that the lack of action can be attributed to three main reasons : the inability of the government to prevent the illegal actions; the carelessness about the phenomenon or the corruption in the government (some of this development was undertaken through bribes or personal connections).

The private provision of shopping facilities showed difference in provision between the three case study areas; private shopkeepers favoured the middle and lower-middle income neighbourhoods as they delivered larger number of shops in these neighbourhoods than in the higher-middle income one, perhaps because of the larger catchment population and/or because residents of the wealthier neighbourhood could and would go elsewhere, such as the city centre, to shop. Moreover, this can also be attributed to the fact that providing illegal facilities was much easier than providing through the formal procedures of change of use.

Civil society had the weakest role in the provision of shopping facilities. However, the case studies showed a major difference in the role of civil society between Halab-AlJadeeda, where RCs were formed, and the other neighbourhoods (the RCoJM provided one of the planned local centres without formal approval from the municipality). In Hamdanya and Hanano the role of the civil society was limited to requests and suggestions made by the *Mokhtars* and NCs for providing shopping facilities within some of the green areas and empty plots in order to replace the illegal shops. However, the municipality tended to ignore participation of civil society[82].

6.4.2 Community centre

A striking fact that was revealed in all three case study neighbourhoods is that none has had a community centre provided, neither as part of the neighbourhood centres, nor as stated in the national planning standards, nor as a separate facilities. Planners designated

[82] The municipality turned a blind eye to the provision of the RC centre until 2008, when the municipality closed the centre for a period of time and raised a legal case against the RC regarding the illegal provision of the local centre on the plot owned by the municipality. These requests were still ignored by the municipality in 2010; it also ignored requests made by the RCs regarding allocating land from green spaces to shops.

shopping centres rather than local and neighbourhood centres in both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano, while in Hamdanya a neighbourhood centre was designated but this did not include a community centre. However, different planned facilities in the three case study areas had a potential to provide a community centre: in Halab-AlJadeeda a separate plot was designated as a community centre, in Hamdanya the neighbourhood centre could include a community centre and in Hanano the planned cultural centre could provide a place for a community centre. Therefore, responsibility for delivering the community centres was not clear. It could have been taken by the municipality or the GCMH which was supposed to develop neighbourhood centres in the case study areas. It could have been held by the community or even, according to interviewees[83], by the Ministry of Social Affairs. In Halab-AlJadeeda, where the plot designated for a community centre was owned by the one of the RCs, it was probably its responsibility to deliver the community centre. However, none of the potential actors provided a community centre.

Moreover, a little opportunity for communal facilities were provided by the RCs, in Halab-AlJadeeda, and by the *Mokhtars*, in all three case study neighbourhoods, through providing a place for people to discuss neighbourhood issues in the RC centres and *Mokhtar* offices. However, residents in the three neighbourhoods said that they were not aware of this opportunity.

In general, both the state and civil society failed to provide appropriate community centres in the case study areas, while the market was completely absent from the provision process. However, a religious building might be considered as an opportunity for providing such service.

6.4.3 Health facilities

All three case studies showed that planners designated less area for health facilities than specified in the national planning standards; Hanano, the lower-middle income neighbourhood, had a larger area than the other two neighbourhoods. However, the implementation of the public health centres was still less than planned. The DoH, which was responsible for the provision and running of this facility, did not adhere to plans - in

[83] Interviewee 40, 27, Municipality of Aleppo.

Halab-AlJadeeda half of the plot designated for a local health centre was used at the city level, in Hamdanya the health centre plot was entirely used at the city level, and in Hanano, where the DoH was more active in providing health facilities, the first health centre was mainly directed to serve the adjacent informal neighbourhoods, while the second one was directed to serve the local neighbourhood as well as the large surrounding area. In addition, the provision of the planned health facilities by the DoH always came late in relation to the development of housing, the only exception being the first health centre in Hanano, which was meant to serve the old informal neighbourhood surrounding Hanano.

Notwithstanding the above, the case studies showed cooperation between the DoH and other actors (GCMH in Hanano and the RCoJM in Halab-AlJadeeda and the international organization in Hanano) in providing local health facilities. This cooperation was seen to be helpful in overcoming obstacles like shortages of land and resources.

The case studies also showed that the private sector has been an important actor in the provision of health facilities despite being excluded from formal participation in providing planned facilities. The private sector was very important in providing private clinics in the three case study areas through change of use from residential to health facilities (clinics and hospitals). The state (the municipality and DoH) approved the change of use in most cases. However, the locations and services available were subject to private providers.

Civil society also was an important actor in the provision of health facilities within the case study areas. In all three neighbourhoods civil society participated in providing unplanned health facilities. The socio-economic status of the neighbourhood was seen to have influenced the charitable provision, as the charity organizations were more active in the lower-middle income and middle-income neighbourhoods. In Hamdanya and Hanano a private donor and a charity organization have provided charity health centre as part of a religious building (in Hamdanya) and the nursing home (in Hanano). In Hanano, an international organization has also provided funds to build a health centre to serve Hanano and its surrounding formal and informal areas. In Halab-AlJadeeda, a different civil

society actor played a role in the provision of health facilities when the RCoJM supported the DoH through providing a space to provide the provisional health centre health centre.

Moreover, apart from its role as a provider, civil society participated in initiating the provision of local facilities, particularly health facilities, in some cases where residents and NCs complained about the lack of the public health facilities. This particpation was more evident in Hanano and Hamdanya. In Halab-AlJadeeda residents and NC complained about the negative impact of the private hospitals. However, these complaints always met with a poor response from the government in all three neighbourhoods.

6.4.4 Schools

Unlike other facilities, the three case study neighbourhoods showed that schools were planned to be very similar to what is set out in the national planning standards, while implementation of these schools was also faster than that of other facilities, with the exception that, in Hamdanya extra schools plots added in the amended plans were not developed. However, though schools were provided more quickly than were other facilities, in general they were still provided much more slowly than housing.

The government was the only actor responsible for the provision of schools, with the single exception of the private school in Hamdanya. The DoTS provided school buildings in all three neighbourhoods, while the GCMH provided some of the school buildings in Hamdanya. Socio-economic status and density of the neighbourhoods could have possibly influenced the provision process: in Hanano, the lower middle-income neighbourhood, schools were provided faster than in the other neighbourhoods. Moreover, the different actors involved in the provision process made a difference; e.g. the GCMH did not allocate the plots of many of the schools in Hamdanya to the relevant public developers). Moreover, the DoE run most of the schools in the three case study neighbourhoods in two shifts to be able to respond to the slow pace in which schools were provided and to the increase in number of children using schools.

The private sector role was absent in providing schools with only one exception in Hamdanya, when the private sector was able to provide a private school in part of the neighbourhood centre[84].

Civil society's role was limited to some requests to build schools; this was evident in Hamdanya, and even more evident in Hanano, where residents and NCs requested the development of the schools due to the great pressure from the neighbouring informal settlements.

6.4.5 Nurseries

In each neighbourhood only one of the planned public nurseries was implemented, even though plans identified several plots for nurseries in each neighbourhood. The main actor which provided planned nurseries was the UoW. Moreover, those nurseries it did provide were built only long after the housing (about 10 years after in Hanano and Hamdanya and 20 years after in Halab-AlJadeeda), while the rest of the nurseries were still not implemented in 2010.

There was poor information sharing between the different public-sector actors (municipality and GCMH) responsible for allocating the nursery plots and the semi-public sector actor (UoW) responsible for building the nurseries: they provided contradictory information about acquiring land for the nurseries. In addition, a recent conflict between the UoW and the DoE over nursery provision had also influenced the process, in which the latter aimed to use nursery plots to develop schools.

In Hamdanya, the GCMH played another important role: rather than allocating the plots only to the UoW, the GCMH tried to sell some of these plots to private developers. In addition, the GCMH provided unplanned nurseries in Hamdanya within the neighbourhood centre, but then later closed it. The GCMH did this without consulting any planning or educational authority.

[84] However, the private sector has recently participated in providing schools in Aleppo, encouraged by the recent economic reform. Since 2003 a few private schools were provided but these tend to be outside the city due to the lack of empty plots available for development inside the existing neighbourhoods.

The most important actor in providing nurseries in the neighbourhoods was thus by default the private sector. The private provision was formal in both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya; in Hanano, where the government prevented the conversion of ground floor residential flats into nurseries, the private sector provided illegal nurseries, which were vulnerable to being closed by the municipality at any time.

Finally, civil society played a very minor role in the provision of nurseries, visible only in Halab-AlJadeeda. The civil society role was limited to the RCoJM's attempt to help to maintain the nursery provided by the UoW, and to the NC complaining about the empty nursery plots. Both attempts met no response.

6.4.6 Religious buildings

Unlike other facilities, the religious buildings implemented in all three case study areas exceeded what is set out in national planning standards. In Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamadanya they also exceeded what was originally planned. Moreover, implementation was faster than for any other facilities.

In contrast to the provision of other facilities, in which the state was the main provider of planned facilities, civil society played the main role in providing planned religious buildings, as well as in providing unplanned ones that involved change of land use. Slight differences in the role of civil society were seen between the three neighbourhoods. In most cases the civil society role focused on managing and financing the provision of religious buildings on land designated for this purpose. In some cases, residents and their representatives also requested the change of use of some plots to be used for religious buildings, and then managed and financed their provision. However, the most remarkable role of civil society was when local residents in Hanano undertook the provision of a small prayer hall on one of the areas designated as green space, without formal approval from the municipality or the DoA; residents provided land, finance, building materials and labour, and the government took no action to prevent it. In all other cases, the public sector institutions facilitated the development of the religious buildings by civil society through allocating land, participating with civil society in managing the provision, and then running the religious facilities.

6.4.7 Recreational greenspace facilities

In all three case study areas only some of the green spaces were well implemented and maintained, while the rest were deserted and in some cases were turned into places to dump garbage. The state of green spaces was worse in poorer neighbourhoods, and especially adjacent to informal settlements.

The government played the main role in the providing and maintaining green spaces in general, apart from in Halab-AlJadeeda.

The role of the government in providing and maintaining green spaces was undertaken by the municipality and the SDs in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano and by the GCMH in Hamdanya. The case studies showed that the government was unable to supply appropriate provision and maintenance of green spaces, especially in Hamdanya and Hanano, where large area of green space were designated; the state of green spaces in Hamdanya were was slightly better than in Hanano, where a larger total area of green spaces was planned to compensate for the absence of private ones. Another role of the government which impacted on green space provision was the change of land use of some green spaces to different uses.

The private sector played a role only in the upper middle-income Halab-AlJadeeda neighbourhood, where the housing associations were responsible for establishing green spaces. The role of the housing association varied, as two of these associations provided better than the other two. However, participation of the housing associations in general was seen to have a positive impact on the provision of green spaces.

The role of civil society varied between actors and between case study areas. Its most important positive role was shown in Halab-AlJadeeda, where an international organization financed the establishment of the main public garden (the environmental garden) and a community based organization (the RcoJM) maintained green spaces in the JM. However, civil society also played a negative role in the provision of green spaces: in all three neighbourhoods some residents maintained part of the public green spaces adjacent to their residences but converted these to their private spaces. Moreover, litter,

rubbish and vandalism were a major problem caused by some of the residents in Hamdanya and Hanano.

6.4.8 Land specified for public services

Public services land was only planned in the three case study neighbourhoods, however, in Hamdanya neighbourhood this land was specified for cultural and administrative facilities. Land allocated for public services were not always used to serve the local level. In many cases the land was used to provide services at level higher than the local neighbourhood. Some services developed on this land were similar in all three neighbourhoods, e.g. police station, post and phone centre, governmental offices, all directed to serve the local neighbourhoods and their surrounding areas. Other developed services, directed to serve at higher levels, varied between neighbourhoods: in Halab-AlJadeeda, the upper-middle income neighbourhood, more prestigious services were developed, such as the Syndicate of Pharmacists' centre[85].

The main actor that was responsible for managing these plots in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano was the municipality, while the GCMH took this role in Hamdanya. Decisions over land use were made by the municipality in response to demand for land from public, semi-public or civil society organizations. In general, the municipality did not attempt to make use of these plots to upgrade planned facilities to meet the national planning standard threshold. The municipality also did not involve local residents or their representatives in making decisions over these uses.

Finally, the case studies showed that the private sector was excluded from developing any of the plots planned for public services land.

[85] According to interviews with officials in the municipality (Interviewee 27, 30, Municipality of Aleppo), land allocated in the upper-middle income neighbourhoods is much more favoured than those in the middle-income and lower-middle income neighbourhood.

6.5 A comparison of institutional factors: roles, resources and rationalities

6.5.1 Shopping facilities, local and neighbourhood centres

The three neighbourhoods show similarity in the rules controlling the provision of shopping facilities. The common feature, at the early stages of development, was that the public sector was the main actor responsible. In addition, the use of these areas was intended as shopping facilities rather than as the variety of services set out in the standards. A slight difference was seen between the three case study areas: in Halab-AlJadeeda - designed by housing associations – a smaller area was planned for shopping facilities than in Hamdanya-designed by the GCMH. In Hanano, where planning was undertaken by the municipality, the plans contained the largest area. Implementation and monitoring procedures in general proved to be poorly applied: shopping centres were developed late relative to housing, while no further action was taken to ensure that development of some of these facilities was done according to plan or to ensure that the developed facilities were running appropriately[86]. The new investment law of 1991 and economic reform encouraged more formal participation of the private sector, which had an effect on the provision of new shopping facilities. Changes of use from residential to shopping facilities (both at small scale - corner shops - and at large scale - shopping centres) did not follow the procedure indicated in legislative decree 5 of 1982 for modifying master and detailed plans, especially in terms of public consultation. Rules on licensing change of use differed among the three case study neighbourhoods in that in Halab-AlJadeeda change of use was permitted while in Hamdanya and Hanano it was not. However, these laws were not seen to have an important impact, as more shops were provided through changes of use in Hanano and Hamdanya than in Halab-AlJadeeda. The civil society role in the urban planning process which is identified in Law 15 was not applied appropriately as suggestions and complaints from residents and their representatives were mostly ignored; residents and their representatives were not

[86]The GCB changed the use of the land to offices building instead of the convenience store where no actions were made to make sure that the agreed facility was delivered, and the RC of JKN developed a local centre on land owned by the municipality without formal approval. The district centre in Hamdanyah and the old local centre in Hanano were poorly run and maintained

consulted nor informed of decisions affecting the shopping facilities; NCs' suggestions did not always represent residents' needs.

Resources

Limited resources of the municipality were mentioned as a reason for delaying the development of local centres in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano[87]. However, the recent participation of the private sector provided both finance to the municipality and direct funds to develop the facilities. Moreover, resources from the private sector were very important in delivering unplanned, formal and informal, facilities in all three case study areas.

Rationalities

A significant difference was evident between policy makers, planners and providers in their understanding of the meaning of local centres and neighbourhood centres. Where policy makers viewed local and neighbourhood centres as multiple-activity facilities, none of the centres planned and provided included these activities. Perceptions and attitudes of the different providers of shopping facilities in all three neighbourhoods were dominated by their focus on these facilities as investments rather than as local facilities to benefit residents. The same can be said about licensing changes of use from residential to shopping: the municipality viewed this as a source of revenue. However, licensing change of use in Hamdanya and Hanano were also affected by what building codes permitted in these areas.

6.5.2 Community centres

Rules

Although community centres were identified in the national planning standards as one of the local facilities that should be provided at the neighbourhood level, the meaning of this facility was not clear to the potential actors responsible for its provision and running.

[87]The budget of the municipality was seen to be tight and had to be divided among many things that vary from year to year.

Consequently, planning and implementation were affected by the vagueness of its meaning.

Resources

Lack of resources as an obstacle hampering the delivery of this facility was mentioned only by the RCoJM, which was supposed to undertake the provision of the planned community centre in Halab-AlJadeeda.

Rationalities

As mentioned above, the three case studies showed that potential developers from both the state and civil society sectors did not have a clear definition of this facility. NCs, which have the potential to run a local community centre, were not aware that such a facility should be provided in the neighbourhood. Officials in the municipality were not able to define where this facility should be delivered or who should deliver it. This confusion impacted attitudes to possible provision in the three case study neighbourhoods. In Halab-AlJadeeda although a plot was allocated for a local community centre in the plans, the RCoJM did not differentiate between providing a community centre and providing a cafe and sports centre. In Hamdanya, where spaces were available in the neighbourhood centre with a potential to be used as a local community centre, the GCMH let these to a private developer who developed a different facility. For both the RCoJM and the GCMH, the lack of clear definition of the community centre was accompanied by a strong focus on generating profits from the available spaces. In Hanano, however, the cultural centre can be viewed as a partial attempt to provide few communal facilities, as some of the cultural activities provided can be considered as communal facilities.

6.5.3 Health facilities

Rules

National standards for planning health facilities were adhered to only in Hanano; in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya areas smaller than the standard were designated. Following the common trend in provision, the state was the main provider of planned

health services in all three neighbourhoods. Implementation procedures which required the municipality to allocate the land to the DoH were not properly applied in the three case studies as the municipality (or the GCMH in Hamdanya) – took a long time to allocate the plots, while in Hanano some plots were still not allocated by 2010. No further action was taken to ensure that the DoH developed the planned facilities - in both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya, facilities other than local health centres were provided.

Moreover, planning laws permitted change of use to health facilities in all three neighbourhoods, which encouraged private provision of health facilities. In addition, Civil society participation was also permitted through approving development of charitable health facilities, mainly within religious buildings plots.

The role of civil society in monitoring the process in the three neighbourhoods was frustrated by poor response from responsible bodies and a poor relationship between residents and their representatives.

Resources

Lack of funds and land were mentioned by officials in the DoH as main reasons for not delivering planned health facilities according to standards.

Rationalities

Rationalities varied between providers. While the importance of providing local health centres was evident in planning standards and in DoH standards, DoH provision was influenced by pressure to provide at city rather than local level. In addition, socio-economic status also affected the DoH attitude towards providing local health centres, to the extent that DoH favoured the lower-middle income neighbourhood (surrounded by the informal settlements) over the two wealthier neighbourhoods. Similarly, charitable provision of health facilities also focused on the middle income and lower-middle income neighbourhoods. In contrast, private unplanned provision focused on making profits, in that a wider range of specialities was provided in the upper-middle income neighbourhood than in the poorer ones.

6.5.4 Schools

Rules

Unlike previous facilities, national planning standards were better adhered to in planning for schools in the three case study areas; the area allocated for schools was slightly larger than the standard in Halab-AlJadeeda and slightly smaller in Hanano and Hamdanya.

However, planning rules governing implementation of local facilities were not properly applied; information sharing among the relevant public sector agencies was poor in the three case study areas, especially in Hamdanya where the development was managed by the GCMH. Moreover, uses of some of the school plots were changed. The poor dissemination of information about school plots and the change of use of these plots can be seen as breaches of what law 15 1974 explicitly states regarding development of schools[88].

Resources

Resources were mentioned as a reason for the delay in providing schools in both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano. In Hamdanya, where school plots where not allocated to the relevant developer, this problem was not mentioned. In addition, the shortage of land available for schools serving at city level influenced the change of use of some school plots. Moreover, the shortages of land to develop new schools in the case study neighbourhoods prompted the development of larger proportions of the plots designated for schools. However, the fund that was made available to build schools as part of the tenth five-year plan was seen to have greatly helped to speed the development of recent schools.

[88]Law 5 1974 refer to the need to inform relevant organization responsible for providing schools about the plots designated for this purpose in the master and detailed plans; it also forbids the change of use of school plots to other uses.

Rationalities

The case studies showed differences in perceptions of and attitudes to providing schools between policy makers, planners and developers. Enrolling the largest number of students was the main focus of the DoE, especially in Hanano; the DoE runs schools in two shifts in most cases. Locality and catchment area of schools was not a high priority for the DoE; this was evident in the lack of standards for catchment area and in using some of the school buildings to serve at city level. The DoE rationalities were influenced in general by the shortages in fund and land available for development of schools.

6.5.5 Nurseries

Rules

Areas planned for nurseries in the three case study areas were very similar to what is required in the national planning standards. However, the responsibility for developing these plots was not clear. This affected the allocation, implementation and monitoring of these facilities; there was clear lack of action to follow up the development of the planned nurseries plots.

Laws on permitting change of use from residences to private nurseries were seen to have encouraged private provision in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya, while they discouraged it in Hanano. However, the new building rules forbid conversion of ground floor flats to nurseries, adding to the difficulties of private provision in Hamdanya.

Resources

Unlike with other facilities, resources were not mentioned as a reason for delaying the development of nurseries; UoW claimed that the union had sufficient funds. However, the vague responsibilities for the provision of nurseries made it hard to decide whether resources would have been an obstacle.

Rationalities

Rationalities varied between actors and between neighbourhoods. While policy makers and planners considered nurseries as one of the local facilities in the neighbourhood,

neither the DoE nor the UoW had the same perception. Officials in the UoW reported that they would develop nurseries when they had demand from residents for them; however, in Halab-AlJadeeda, only one nursery was developed despite the demand from NCs and RCs. The DoE was much more focused on providing schools rather than nurseries, as pre-school education was not part of the state educational plan until recently.

On the other hand, the GCMH's attitude, in developing one nursery in Hamdanya and then closing it later when it failed to make a profit, reveals more interest in making money than in the importance of the nursery as a local facility. This interest was also evident in the UoW's tendency to provide other facilities on the nurseries plots - the sports centre in Halab-AlJadeeda and the private school in Hamdanya - in order to generate more profits.

6.5.6 Religious buildings

In all three case study areas national planning standards were not applied, as religious buildings were designated as separate buildings. The norm controlling the process allows civil society to be the main provider of religious buildings, and this proved to be successful in all three areas. Planning laws permitted change from other uses to religious facilities in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya, but in Hanano the prayer room was provided illegally.

Resources were not considered as a problem for constructing religious buildings, as funding was always raised through fund raising committees. However, in Hanano (the lower-middle income neighbourhood) the inability of residents to donate meant that all funds had to come from donors from outside the neighbourhood.

Finally, with regard to rationalities, even though the ministry standards identified religious buildings as part of local centres, planners tended to allocate separate plots for them in all three case studies. Donating for building religious building was considered as a charitable deed and was welcomed by governmental organizations as a way of saving public resources. However, the running of the buildings and the activities undertaken in them were always to be managed by the DoA.

6.5.7 Recreational greenspace facilities

Rules

The national planning standard for green spaces were not adhered to in Halab-AlJadeeda, where an area smaller than the standard was planned; in contrast; the standard was exceeded in both Hanano and Hamdanya. Implementing procedures were relatively clear, as the establishment and maintenance of green spaces was to be undertaken by the organization which was developing the housing. However, the case studies showed that conflicts always occurred between the actors (the municipality and housing association in Halab-AlJadeeda; the municipality and the GCMH in Hamdanya and the municipality and residents in Hanano), partially due to the misunderstanding of responsibilities. In addition, planning laws did not prevent change of use of green areas to other uses. In the three case study areas the use of some of the green spaces was changed with or without formal approval.

Resources

Lack of resources was the main reason mentioned in all three case study areas by officials in the municipality and the SDs for not being able to maintain and provide green spaces. Shortage of funds, workers and alliances has a great impact on the government's ability to maintain green space. These were worse in Hamdanya and Hanano, where larger areas were to be maintained by the government, especially in Hanano, where all designated green spaces were public. The municipality was restricted by the limited resources, while housing associations and GCMH were more interested in funding housing rather than green areas. Finally, in Halab-AlJadeeda funds from civil society (the RC and an international organization) were seen to have a great impact on improving green spaces.

Rationalities

Rationalities varied between actors. Planners tried to meet the planning standards by designating relatively large areas of land for green spaces. However, different hierarchies were applied in the three neighbourhoods, subject to the personal opinions of the planners. In Halab-AlJadeeda, where the plans were made by the housing association, a smaller area than the standard was provided, probably due to the desire to develop extra housing.

Attitudes of the different providers were influenced mainly by the resources available: in all three neighbourhoods the lack of resources influenced their ability to improve the condition of the green spaces, but especially in Hanano. The importance of locality is another important perception of the provision of local facilities. Fear of externalities affected the RCoJM's participation in caring for some of the green spaces; RCoJM provided no playing area, because it considered such a facility might attract unwelcome outsiders. Finally, the conflict over responsibilities among the different actors and the tendency to blame each other were seen to influence the provision process.

6.5.8 Land specified for public services

Rules

The same rules over allocating public services land applied in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano. Planning law 5 1974 identified a variety of uses of this land, without referring to its location in residential zones or within other service zones. Decision making over use of this land was left to the urban committee in the municipality without requiring review of existing local facilities or consultation with local residents. In Hamdanya, this land was specified for cultural and administrative facilities and use of these plots was subject to the decision of the GCMH.

Resources

The lack of land allocated for service uses at city level was mentioned as a reason for using the plots within residential neighbourhoods for facilities that do not serve locally.

Rationalities

Rationalities over the use of public service plots varied between actors in the three case study areas. However, in general some officials looked at this land as a way of providing spaces for future services, while others considered it merely as state-property – or as GCMH property in the case of Hamdanya - that could be put to any use regardless of whether it served locally or at city level. The former perception was evident in all three neighbourhoods in the use of part of the public services land for facilities that served the local neighbourhoods. The latter perception was more evident in Halab-AlJadeeda, where

some of this land was used for services at the city level, and in Hamdanya, where this land was also used to benefit the GCMH itself. Moreover, in Halab-AlJadeeda the higher socio-economic status of the neighbourhood was seen to attract more prestigious facilities than in the other neighbourhoods.

6.6 Conclusion

The formal process of governance for providing local facilities does not engage a wide range of stakeholders. The most active actor in the provision process of most of the planned local facilities in the three neighbourhoods was the state. In theory, the state was supposed to be the main provider of most of the planned facilities and was responsible for monitoring the development process in general and for organizing participation of the private and civil society sectors in the provision process. The role of the state was undertaken by different actors. The municipality was the most important one.

The three case studies proved that, as a provider, the municipality could not provide all planned facilities in time with the housing. In addition, the municipality's provision was not well run and maintained. However, the case studies showed that the municipality favoured the lower middle-income neighbourhood in terms of providing some facilities faster than in the higher-income neighbourhoods. In terms of managing and monitoring the provision process: as an allocator of land, the municipality proved to be slow in most cases; information sharing was seen to be weak between the municipality and other public and semi-public providers and this was accompanied by bureaucracy and long routine procedures. Moreover, the municipality was seen to be partly responsible for the increase in density in the three case study neighbourhoods[89] which put more pressure on local facilities. No attempt was made to provide extra facilities to respond to the increase in density. The municipality's attitude towards provision by other actors varied. When dealing with formal private provision through change of use, the municipality usually approved the change through a long routine procedure which was not appreciated by private developers. On the other hand, the role of the municipality in managing private sector participation in providing planned facilities, was seen to be successful in terms of

[89] Change in building codes by the municipality allowed more residences than originally planned in the upper-middle income neighbourhood. In the middle income neighbourhood illegal provision of extra residential units took place with the municipality turning a blind eye to this provision. In all cases

undertaking projects faster than the public sector. However, these have come late in the case study areas, only after the development of illegal facilities, and the newly provided planned facilities were not able to attract people. In terms of dealing with informal provision, the municipality was unable to prevent illegal activities. New illegal services were still appearing in the case study neighbourhoods in 2010. On the other hand, the way the municipality dealt with the representatives of local communities and residents in the neighbourhoods was inefficient in most cases. Community representatives reported that their demands and suggestions were fobbed off or ignored altogether, while residents expressed their lack of trust in the municipality to respond to their demands.

The other state actors responsible for delivering facilities in the neighbourhoods were the various public sector directorates. Their role was mainly to provide facilities on plots allocated for them by the municipality. The case studies showed that, as with the municipality, these directorates were not able to provide the facilities in time with the housing. The DoH was in general not able to develop health facilities in time. Moreover, it was keener to provide services at the city rather than the local level[90]. Nonetheless, the DoH was seen to favour the poorest of the three neighbourhoods in terms of providing health facilities. Similarly, the development of schools was slightly faster in the poorest neighbourhood. The middle income neighbourhood, Hamdanya, where GCMH retained ownership of many of the plots, performed worst in developing school plots. The DoE performed better than other providers in terms of developing most of the school plots and using most of them for local schools. In the three neighbourhoods development of nurseries was undertaken mainly by the UoW. Since 2003 the DoE has been involved, which was seen to cause conflict. In general, the UoW, which provided only one nursery in each neighbourhood, was not keen to develop the rest of the nursery plots[91]. The DoA acted as the facilitator of civil society's provision of religious buildings rather than as a main provider. This cooperation between the DoA and civil society proved to be able to provide facilities that in some cases exceeded the national standard or what was proposed in the plan. In addition, the various public sector directorates were to license the private

[90] Such that it delivered city level facilities on plots allocated for local level facilities.

[91] As a semi-public (or civil society) organization, the UoW was not formally required to develop nurseries.

provision of unplanned facilities. The case studies showed that in some cases these were not allowed despite a local need. However, in general privately provided facilities showed that more effort could have been made to organise this provision to meet local needs, rather than leaving it to private developers to respond to demand where they saw the chance of a profit.

For all that, the case studies showed that, in addition to state provision of local facilities, the market did play an important role. Its main role was in providing, through changes of use, local facilities that were not planned originally; this was done either formally or informally. The other role of the private sector was to deliver planned shopping facilities through partnership contracts with the municipality. Despite only one project being completed in 2009 in one of the case study areas and a few others being under construction in 2010, these projects were seen to be undertaken faster than when provided by the public sector alone. However, private sector participation in provision of both planned and unplanned facilities could have been better organised to respond to local needs where the range of unplanned facilities was left to the private developers; and privately provided planned facilities also tended to come late, after unplanned ones had already been developed. Private developers of housing were also involved where they built higher number of apartments in each block than specified in the plan, which in turn affected density and population size in each neighbourhood.

The civil society sector was seen to participate less than the state and the market in the provision of local facilities. Its most notable role was in the provision of religious buildings. This role was seen to be effective, with religious buildings being provided at a faster pace than other facilities in the three case study areas. The provision of religious facilities was slower in the poorest neighbourhood, where the low income of residents affected the provision process. Other important contributions of civil society to local facilities were made by various actors: the RCs in the upper-middle income neighbourhood maintained green spaces and provided a very few community facilities in the RC centre. This participation of the RCs was seen to be effective, however, it was largely subject to the personal opinion of members of RCs about which services were to be provided and was limited to the upper middle-income neighbourhood where these committees where based. Charitable organizations also played an important role in

providing some facilities. Charitable provision was seen to have favoured the lower-middle income neighbourhood, where two charity health centres were provided, while only one was provided in the middle income neighbourhood and none in the upper-middle income one. Finally, the participation of international organizations also proved to be effective in providing the public garden in the upper middle income neighbourhood and the children's library in the lower-middle income neighbourhood, where such provision was not made by the public or private sectors. However, this participation happened only once in the case study neighbourhoods. In addition to direct provision of some facilities, civil society also participated indirectly in provision, through residents of the neighbourhoods and their representatives prompting development by complaining about the delay in providing facilities. This role was more evident in the lower-middle income neighbourhood. However, the relationship between the state and civil society lacked trust and appropriate response from the state. Moreover, the relationship between residents and their representatives was seen to be very weak, with the latter being appointed by the government rather than chosen by the community. In addition, most residents were not aware of the existence of such community organizations.

In terms of institutional factors, a set of rules had influenced the provision of local facilities in the three case study neighbourhoods. The legal view that the state was the main provider dominated provision of local facilities in all three case study neighbourhoods until the mid-2000s, when the economic reform encouraged the participation of the private sector. In terms of planning standards, a set of local facilities was to be provided in all residential neighbourhoods in Syria[92]. However, these standards were not strictly applied. Application of these standards varied among the case study areas subject to planners' opinions. Moreover, implementation of the local facilities in the case study neighbourhoods suggested that the planning law defining the implementation process did not provide a clear vision of the timescale and process of allocating the land and had a negative impact on the provision process. In some cases the unclear definition of the responsible bodies regarding provision was also seen as an obstacle in the provision process. The lack of clarity in the rules allowed the municipality and some public sector

[92] With a slight variation in terms of areas specified for green spaces according to housing typology.

providers to change the use of certain facilities. Planning law had left the decision over change of use and the use of public service plots to the municipality without paying attention to the opinion of local residents. It was not clear if these changes to new uses should be advertised to the public, which allowed the ignoring of public opinion in most of the cases. The 30 days period of public participation in the planning stage defined in the planning laws, was seen to be inefficient. The role of residents' representatives addressed in Local Administration Law 15 was seen to be weakly applied in the provision process, as the opinion of these representatives was usually ignored. Rules over licensing change of use changed frequently, encouraging the change of use from residential to other facilities, which slightly differs among the three neighbourhoods subject to building codes and housing typology. The building and use licensing laws favoured the upper-middle income neighbourhood, where building codes permit the use of part of ground floors for shopping facilities, nurseries, health facilities etc., as opposed to in the middle income and lower-middle income neighbourhoods, where fewer facilities were permitted. However, limited action was taken to prevent breaching of these rules where a large number of facilities were developed informally in the middle and lower-middle income neighbourhoods.

In terms of resources, officials expressed that the shortage in finance and in land at city level and at local neighbourhood level were important obstacles to appropriate delivery of many of the local facilities. Budgets of the municipality and public directorates were noted to be tight and had to be divided among many things that varied from year to year. The 2001 reform and new forms of BOT contracts with the private sector were seen to have provided good sources of finance to the municipality, as well as providing direct finance to build some facilities like shopping centres. Other resources for providing local facilities came from the private sector, which was seen as a main source of funding in providing unplanned facilities by means of change of use. Moreover, the private sector has provided resources for developing a few planned facilities. This had previously been limited to establishing green spaces in the upper-middle income neighbourhood, but since the mid-2000s private sector resources were used to build planned shopping facilities. Other sources of funding came from civil society, in terms of building one of the shopping centres in the upper-middle income neighbourhood, charity health centres in middle and

lower-middle income neighbourhoods and providing and maintaining green spaces in the lower-middle income neighbourhood. However, resources coming from civil society varied between the three neighbourhoods, with community resources being more available in the upper-middle income neighbourhood than in the other two neighbourhoods. Resources coming from charity organizations were directed to the lower-middle income and the middle income neighbourhoods rather than the upper-middle income neighbourhood, while funds from international organisations were used both in the upper-middle income and lower-middle income neighbourhoods, depending on types of facilities provided (library for children in lower-middle income neighbourhood and public garden in the upper-middle income one).

In relation to rationalities, when asked about their rationalities for providing local facilities, there was a clear variation among the actors with regard to the different facilities in the different neighbourhoods. While all actors accept the importance of local facilities to provide for local needs, there were marked differences in their attitudes in delivering these facilities. While policy makers stressed the importance of local facilities through setting planning standards, planners were not highly committed to these standards. However, among the different facilities, schools were given the highest priority as the areas devoted for schools in the three case study neighbourhoods were similar to areas set in the standards, while local and service centres were usually given the smallest areas in comparison to standards. In terms of the different neighbourhoods, the lower middle-income neighbourhood which was planned by the municipality, was allocated larger areas for facilities in general than the other two neighbourhoods, planned by housing associations and by the GCMH, which could be attributed to the latters' desire to profit from developing larger area for housing than for facilities. On the other hand, developers of local facilities were less keen to provide local facilities according to plans. However, the DoE, were the actors that were most committed to providing local facilities (schools). The DoH was more focused on providing health facilities at the city level rather than local levels due to shortages in resources and land and due to the accepted trend that local residents will not use local health centres unless they cannot afford private ones. Both DoH and DoE showed more interest in providing for the lower middle income neighbourhood than the other neighbourhoods. The UoW, which was the only provider

of planned nurseries in the three case study areas, was more interested in the making profits from delivering nurseries than in nurseries as a local facility. Similarly, the municipality, which was to provide shopping facilities, was more focused on these as an investment to provide funds for the municipality. The same can be said about the change of use to corner shops and shopping centres, with these being welcomed by the municipality as a source of revenue. Private developers were always focused on providing facilities based on demands rather than local needs, thus certain types of facilities were provided which were seen to be profitable rather than important for local residents. The profit incentive was also evident in some of the civil society provision – e.g. the development of the community centre plot in Halab-AlJadeeda, by the RC, as a cafe and restaurant. Moreover, some other provision undertaken by civil society was focused on the importance of providing local facilities like maintaining green spaces in the upper middle income neighbourhood and providing religious building and charity health centres, which at the same time can be considered as religiously-inspired giving. Another important point in addressing rationalities was the difference in understanding the meaning of some facilities between planners and providers. For example, planners designated plots for local shopping centres rather than local and service centres, which would have included a range of facilities such as community centres. In addition, the case studies showed that the meaning of the community centre was not clear for all actors. This unclear understanding of meaning of such facilities was accompanied by unclear definition of responsibilities which in turn influenced actors' attitudes towards development of some facilities. Moreover, conflict over responsibilities for the provision of facilities (e.g. green spaces and nurseries) was seen to have great influence on the provision process with each actor blaming the other for the lack of provision or the poor conditions of this provision.

All in all, provision of local facilities in Aleppo continued in a partly disorganized pattern led by the inability of the government to plan and implement local facilities as addressed in the national planning standards. Local services should respond to the needs of urban growth, and through private sector participation, to local demands as well as to local needs. In addition, a relatively minor role was played by civil society, which was limited to certain types of facilities. The product of this governance process was a new range of

local facilities in residential neighbourhoods which is quite different from the ‘standard’ and planned one. The impact of these local facilities on social sustainability in the three case study neighbourhoods is the main topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 7. The impact of the provision of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability in Syria

7.1 Introduction

The research findings on the qualitative impact of local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability in the three case study areas are presented and discussed in this chapter. A framework drawn from the literature review was developed in Chapter 2 and focused on five main aspects of social sustainability which are related to the provision of local facilities at the neighbourhood level. In brief, those aspects are: (i) access to and usage of local facilities; (ii) mode of travel to them; (iii) social interaction; (iv) safety and security; and (v) sense of place. These aspects were expected to be improved when people have access to satisfactory local facilities. The analysis is carried out of the three case study neighbourhoods building upon these frameworks.

Full description of the case study neighbourhoods was presented in the previous chapter, which included a physical survey of the local facilities and a detailed description of their conditions. In this chapter the core analysis of impact of the local facilities on social sustainability relies on information gathered from interviews with residents, supplemented by data from the previous chapters on the conditions of local facilities. Information is obtained from interviews with 50 households in the three case study neighbourhoods: 17 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 15 in Hamdanya and 18 in Hanano. The majority of the interviewees were members of families with children of different ages. However, fewer interviews provided data on the impact of schools and nurseries, because not all interviewees had children of nursery or school age. Interview data are used to understand the impact of each of the local facilities on the different aspects of social sustainability.

7.2 Accessibility and usage of local facilities

As discussed in chapter 2, social sustainability includes paying attention to the nature and extent of access to services and facilities in a given area. In this research accessibility is

focused on residents' perception of access to and actual usage of the range of facilities within their neighbourhood.

7.2.1 Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

When interviewees were asked if shopping facilities are accessible in their neighbourhood, 10/17, 13/15, 17/18 in Halab-AlJadeeda, Hamdanya and Hanano respectively stated that shopping facilities are accessible within their neighbourhood. However, not all interviewees who considered local shopping facilities to be accessible have actually used them.

The interview findings showed significant differences between the three case studies in terms of usage of shopping facilities. Higher usage of local shops, for main shopping, was revealed in the lower middle income neighbourhood (16/18) than in the middle income one (6/15), which was also higher than the upper middle income neighbourhood (5/17). The rest of the interviewees reported using shopping facilities outside their neighbourhood, mainly in the city centre[93]. However, when taking account of interviewees who used local facilities for part of their shopping, the usage became slightly higher with around half of the interviewees (8/17) in Halab-AlJadeeda (the upper-middle income neighbourhood) reporting using local shopping facilities; slightly more than two thirds (11/15) in Hamdanya; and all residents (18/18) in Hanano. However, the rest of the interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya stated that they would still use the local shopping facilities for emergency needs.

These differences in usage can be attributed on the one hand to the differences in the socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhoods which affect people's choice and ability to use facilities outside their neighbourhood, and on the other hand to the differences in the number and range of available shopping facilities.

[93] Main shopping facilities were located in the city centre, in addition two new malls were newly provided outside the city of Aleppo in 2010, the period of data collection. The impact of these two malls were seen to be limited as they were still quite new, however, they could have an important impact on the usage of local facilities later on.

With regard to the different types of shopping facilities, interviewees mainly referred to the corner shops as the most used shopping facilities. An important theme which affected the use of other shopping facilities, such as shopping centres, was the actual provision of such facilities: in Halab-AlJadeeda corner shops were the only provided shopping facilities, the shopping centre of JKN was designed as a group of a few corner shops and regarded by residents as similar to the rest of corner shops. Similarly, the commercial street in Hanano and the local centres in Hamdanya were also regarded as a set of corner shops but were reported to be used only occasionally by residents. In Hamdanya and Hanano most of the interviewees reported using the corner shops mainly. The new shopping centre in Hanano was reported to be only used occasionally by few residents. None of the interviewees reported using the old shopping centre in Hanano or the neighbourhood centre in Hamdanya, apart from two interviewees in Hamdanya who said that they had visited the neighbourhood centre once.

Issues influencing the usage of shopping facilities:

Analysis of the interviews reveals that different physical and non-physical aspects have varying levels of influence on residents' choice and use of the shopping facilities. These aspects varied among the three case study neighborhoods and also between publicly and privately provided facilities and between shopping centres and corner shops.

An important aspect mentioned by interviewees who had moved early into the neighbourhoods was the delay in provision of shopping facilities in general. Corner shops were provided much faster than shopping centres. However, the delay in provision of the shopping centres was still noted by some residents, who prefer shopping at good quality shopping centres, to be dissatisfying:

Other issues affecting the usage of shopping facilities were different between the usage of the shopping centres and the usage of corner shops:

Shopping centres

Distant location of shopping centres from residents' homes was mentioned by many interviewees in Hamdanya and Hanano. These shopping centres are, as shown in the neighbourhoods maps in Chapter 6, sited in particular locations, different from corner shops, which are scattered across the neighbourhoods: "*providing the popular market did not change anything, it has a peripheral location and all people prefer the corner shops nearest to their homes"* (Resident 48, Hanano).

Most residents in Hanano and Hamdanya reported lack of security within the shopping centres within the neighbourhood in terms of the architecture and design of the buildings: "*The shopping centre has a very poor design; it is enclosed, deserted and it is poorly lighted and maintained. I do not feel safe entering the shopping centre even in day time. I would only use the shops opened to the main road if I had to"* **(**Resident 28, Hamdanya).

Others added the reputation of the place as an issue affecting their choice of using the facility: "*no one goes to the old shopping centre. I heard that they found empty bottles on the roof, some people was drinking there... you know and other stuff*" (Resident 33, Hanano).

The lack of variety of goods available within these shopping centres was mentioned by many residents in Hamdanya: "*There is not much you can buy from there...There are very few shops opened there...it is a shame having this large area for a shopping centre but never making use of it...but you know no one cares*" (Resident 38, Hanano).

Local corner shops

Generally speaking, residents commented on the convenience of having corner shops within walking distance of most of the homes, especially in Hanano and Hamdanya, where large number of shops are available: "*I work in the neighbourhood so I do most of my shopping from the local corner shops. I do not have to go outside the neighbourhood just to do my shopping*" (Resident 23, Hamdanya). On the contrary, those who live in

Halab-AlJadeeda in the areas where corner shops were not provided were dissatisfied with the lack of such a facility.

However, even though the proximity of corner shops was welcomed, sometimes it did not necessarily indicate using the shops closest to home. Different reasons for this were given.

Similarly to the shopping centres, some residents reported a lack of choice in the local shops available: "the *big disadvantage I've found about local shops is that there isn't a variety of goods. We need a butcher and also more shops that sell fresh fruit and veg. Only a few shops sell fresh goods, as merchants prefer goods that last longer in case they are not sold"* (Residents 3, Halab-AlJadeeda).

Others mentioned the delay in provision of shopping facilities as a reason for dissatisfaction, especially those who moved to the neighbourhood in the early stages before the corner shops was opened "*We do all the shopping from the corner shops now... before these were opened we were suffering...we had to walk to the (older nearby formal neighbourhood) to do our shopping"* (Resident 47, Hanano).

Many residents in all three neighbourhoods also referred to the high prices of goods in corner shops (affordability) in comparison to other shopping facilities outside the neighbourhood, which sell better quality goods at cheaper prices, as a reason for dissatisfaction with using corner shops. However, this was more evident in Hamdanya: "*the corner shops are more expensive than shopping in the city centre, but it makes things easier, thus we do most of our shopping from the corner shops"* (Resident 21, Hamdanya), and in Hanano: "*the corner shops are more expensive than shopping from the vendors which we used to buy from, but the vendors are now banned from working in the neighbourhood"* (Resident 40, Hanano).

In addition to the previous aspects related to the local shopping facilities, a few residents reported choosing to use facilities outside the neighbourhood, simply because they like the quality they get from certain places, or because it is easily accessible to them.

Other residents also expressed dissatisfaction with the closure of some services which were already running in their neighbourhoods: "*there used to be two convenient shops,*

they were very useful. They provided goods at more reasonable prices than other facilities in the neighbourhood but they were shut down. We had to go back to shopping in the city centre after they were closed" (Resident 22, Hamdanya).

Finally, it is important to note that the majority of the residents interviewed said that, if they were provided with local shopping facilities with good quality and reasonable prices in comparison to these outside the neighbourhood, they would use the one inside the neighbourhood.

7.2.2 Community centres

Community centres were not available in any of the case study neighbourhoods. However, as explained in the previous chapter, the offices of the *Mokhtars* in all neighbourhoods and the centres of the residents' committees (RCs) in Halab-AlJadeeda were supposed to provide some communal facilities, especially a place to discuss the neighbourhood's problems and people's needs. Other facilities like the cultural centre in Hanano could also provide communal facilities.

However, interviews revealed that existing facilities are not providing residents with access to communal facilities. Only one interviewee in each neighbourhood reported using the *Mokhtar* centres to discuss their neighbourhood's problems: those 3 interviewees were the ones directly introduced by the *Mokhtars* or members of NCs. In terms of the RCs - which exist only in Halab-AlJadeeda - two interviewees, who were living in JM area, reported accessing the JM committee centres occasionally to discuss neighbourhood problems or to access the library that was once provided within the centre. However, the two interviewees reported that activities of the JM committee centre are quite dependent on members of the committee and not reliable as communal facilities. The majority of the interviewees in the three case study areas were not aware of the possible communal services provided in the *Mokhtar* centre and RC centres.

With regard to the cultural centre in Hanano, only one interviewee reported accessing the library in the cultural centre occasionally and one reported attending some lectures. The majority of residents reported the lack of appropriate activities for the different groups of residents: available activities were seen to be inadequate to satisfy local needs. In

addition, the lack of proper advertisement and awareness of activities taking place in the cultural centre was revealed by many residents in Hanano: "*There is nothing taking place there, we hope they have something for children, may be like something to encourage them to read. However, there is no advertisement of what is there...probably they could disseminate information through the schools"* (Resident 35, Hanano).

In general, the lack of appropriate communal facilities and lack of activities for all groups of people, along with the lack of advertisement of what facilities are available, was reported to be dissatisfying by residents in all three case study neighbourhoods. In terms of planned communal facilities, in Halab-AlJadeeda, few residents (who live in JM area and were aware of the original plans for the community centre plot) reported being disappointed by the development of the cafe and sport centre rather than a community centre: "*we were waiting for the community centre. It should be serving the local residents with minimum prices rather than attracting people from outside who are willing to pay high prices. It should have had things for all: activities for children, a library and computer rooms. This is not what we wanted"* (Resident 7, Halab-AlJadeeda/JM).

In Hamdanya, one resident also reported that the multipurpose halls in the neighbourhood centre should have been used to provide communal facilities for the local residents: "*using the multipurpose halls is not open to local residents. It is not free. You have to rent the whole hall, you cannot just use part. They were renting the halls for weddings and now they also rent them for other occasions. However, these should have better served the community and provided a place for communal activities for local residents instead"* (Resident 28, Hamdanya).

Finally, most of the residents noted the need for proper communal facilities within their neighbourhoods to serve the different groups of people: "*I would like to go and meet the neighbours... if there was something only for women... my mother- in- law who lives with us is eighty but she would also like to go out and meet people if there was a place for this... It would also be great if there was something for the children where they can do some activities" (*Residents 4, Halab-AlJadeeda).

7.2.3 Health centres

Local health facilities were perceived to be poorly accessible by interviewees in the three case study neighbourhoods, with only 2/17, 3/15, 12/18 interviewees reporting having access to local health facilities. Residents' perception of accessibility of local health facilities was strongly reflected in the interviewees' pattern of usage of these facilities.

Interviews in the three case study areas showed a low usage of local health facilities in the case study neighbourhoods. However, as with shopping facilities there was a relationship between the socio- economic conditions of the neighbourhoods and the perception of access to local health facilities. The highest usage was reported in Hanano (8/18), Hamdanya came second (3/15) and then Halab-AlJadeeda (2/17). The use of health facilities ranged between public and private ones. In Hanano from the eight interviewees who used local health facilities, three interviewees reported using the public health centre while five reported using the local private clinics and one reported using the charity centre. In Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya no one reported using the local health centre for visits about common illnesses; they use it only for immunisation. Two residents in each neighbourhood reported using the local private clinics. In Hamdanya, however, two interviewees reported using the newly provided polyclinic in the adjacent neighbourhood, while one reported using the charity health centre. In general, residents in the three neighbourhoods reported using local private clinics more than public health centres and charity ones.

In the three case study neighbourhoods, all interviewees reported not being satisfied with the conditions of existing health facilities within their neighbourhoods, regardless of whether they use them or not. Aspects influencing the low usage and low satisfaction of local health facilities varied between public and private provided health facilities.

In terms of public health facilities, the most important physical aspect was the availability of these facilities in a quantity that serve the local residents. Many interviewees suggested that the available health centres are not sufficient to serve for all local residents if they were to use them.

In relation to the availability, interviewees pointed out that available public health centres are very crowded and waiting time is too long: "*the polyclinic is good but you would wait for two to three hours to be seen... ... unless of course you have connections - then they would probably let you see the doctor in a shorter time"* (Residents 39, Hanano). This issue was most frequently reported in Hanano, less in Hamdanya and least in Halab-AlJadeeda. The crowdedness was associated with users from outside the local neighbourhoods: "*the health centre could never accommodate the people from the (surrounding informal areas) and those from the nearby villages"* (Residents 43, Hanano). In Halab-AlJadeeda residents added that the public health centre is not a local facility and is directed at poor people at the city level rather than to local people[94]. In Hamdanya interviewees stated that the public local health centres were not regarded to be available to all residents, as the GCMH health centre and the Military and GCMH health centres were viewed as being devoted merely to staff of these organizations. A few residents also mentioned that public health centres close early at 2:00 or 3:00 pm and probably stop receiving patients long before that.

Non-physical aspects were seen to be very important in terms of people's dissatisfaction with public medical centres provided in their neighbourhoods. The poor quality of service was frequently mentioned by residents in all three neighbourhoods: in this regard, all interviewees cited the lack of qualified staff in addition to poor quality and availability of equipment. In Hanano interviewees also mentioned that doctors might not be available on every day: "*we only go there for children's immunizations. We never use it for check-ups...in the poly clinic, which is supposed to have many different specialities, the doctor you would need to see might not be available many days. Doctors who should be there every day are taking shifts...each will come only one day...so you would go there with ear ache on Monday but they would tell you that you have to come back on a Thursday because the specialised doctor only comes on that day"* (Residents 41, Hanano). Other interviewees also mentioned carelessness and bad attitude from staff towards patients: "*I once went there with my child: they have no respect for people… They would make you feel as if they are giving you charity"* (Resident 43, Hanano).

[94]The same views was also shared by staff working at these centers and in the DoH.

Other interviews mentioned that there is no tendency in general to use public health centres, due probably to their bad reputation or the perceived poor quality of the public health facilities and to the perception of these as merely for poor people, which prevent people from using the health centres even though they have never tried them.

In terms of private health facilities, residents in all three case study neighbourhoods expressed the convenience of having these available within the neighbourhood in case they needed emergency medical treatment, as these facilities are usually open for long hours, especially the private hospitals. However the use of these private facilities, apart from emergencies, was subject to reputation of the doctors and the type of facility provided[95].

In addition, the lack of advertisement and awareness of available public and private facilities was also noted by interviewees, as many reported not knowing what health facilities are available, whether these are public health centres or private clinics: *"I didn't know that another medical centre (the poly clinic) is available in our neighbourhood. However, it is good to know that we have one"* (Residents 45, Hanano)

The preference for trusted family/well known doctors also played an important role. In general, existing health centres were not serving as local medical centres. Rather, these were viewed as health facilities directed to poor people at the city level, while private health facilities were serving various specialities, which are not always needed locally and also depend highly on the reputation of the doctors and people's ability to afford the service.

7.2.4 Schools

The total number of interviewees who were able to comment on the access to and usage of schools was 48 rather than 50, as one interviewee in Halab-AlJadeeda and one in Hanano did not have children of school age at any point during their stay in the neighbourhood.

[95] Each clinic or hospital provides a particular speciality

Interviewees in the three case study areas reported having better access to schools in their neighbourhoods than to other local facilities. 14/16 interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, 13/15 in Hamdanya and 16/17 in Hanano reported having access to local schools. However, in Hanano, no high school for boys were available and all high-school boys had to travel outside the neighbourhood. 4 interviewees in Hanano who had male children at high school age reported having no access to a such facility locally.

In terms of actual usage of schools, interviews showed a relationship between the socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhoods and people's usage of local schools. Higher usage of local schools were revealed in the lower middle income neighbourhood (16/17) than the middle income one (12/15), which was also higher that the upper middle income neighbourhood (11/16)[96]. However, satisfaction with the local schools was opposite to the usage, in that, although in Hanano where 16/17 interviewees used the local schools, the majority were not satisfied. Many reasons were given for low satisfaction with the schools:

Crowding was the main reason, highlighted by most interviewees in Hanano, fewer in Hamdanya and fewest in Halab-AlJadeeda. The number of schools available was not sufficient to the number of children of school age from inside and outside the neighbourhoods: "*the school is very crowded. There are more than 50 children in each class and one teacher only. The children will not be able to learn and understand in such an atmosphere"* (Residents 47, Hanano). The two shifts use of schools to accommodate the large number of children was mentioned as a reason for dissatisfaction. The late provision and the lack of availability of some schools was frequently mentioned especially in Hanano, less often in Hamdanya and least often in Halab-AlJadeeda respectively. Unavailability of schools in the early period of settling in the neighbourhood was reported by many residents: "*At the beginning there were not enough schools and many children had to go outside the neighbourhood, which was a big problem for many families. A male high school is still unavailable so far and many children still suffer from going to schools outside the neighbourhood"* (Resident 47, Hanano). Another important

[96] 8 of the 16 interviewee in Hanano who used the local schools have male children at high school age who had to go outside the neighbourhood as no male high school was available

physical aspect mentioned by a few residents was the distance of some schools from home, especially where children were not allocated a space in the school nearest to their home, due to the overcrowding of these school. The location of schools on main roads with entrance open directly to the roads was also mentioned.

The poor quality of schools including: lack of qualified teachers, poor equipment and buildings, was mentioned most often by residents in Hanano, less often in Halab-AlJadeeda and least often in Hamdanya: "*The staff are not well qualified and many teachers are provisional teachers... the buildings are poor... The courtyards are not well paved, so that many children would injure themselves tripping in the school courtyards"* (Residents 35, Hanano).

Mixing with children from outside the neighbourhood, mainly from poorer or informal areas, was mentioned by many residents in Hanano "*I don't like that my child mixed up with the children from the surrounding informal areas, most of them are not well behaved ... so I have to send him all the way to the school in the city centre"* (Resident 48, Hanano).

Finally, a few residents said that they chose to send their children to better quality private schools outside the neighbourhood. However, they would still prefer to have better quality schools locally. "*There are no good private schools in the neighbourhood. I sent my child to a private school outside the city. If such a one was available inside the neighbourhood I would definitely rather send my child to it than having her travel all that distance on the highway*" (Resident 3, Halab-AlJadeeda).

To sum up, although local schools were usually used where available, people reported dissatisfaction with them.

7.2.5 Nurseries

The total number of interviewees with children at nursery age was 43 (some of them had children at school some time before 2010, but their perception of usage of nurseries was helpful in understanding the conditions of the usage of nurseries over time).

Local nurseries were reported to be accessible by 9/16 in Hanano, 11/12 in Hamdanya and 12/15 in Halab-AlJadeeda.

However, in terms of actual usage, interviews showed low usage in general of local nurseries. Socio-economic conditions were seen to have an impact on usage. Opposite to the use of other local facilities, the lowest usage of local nurseries was reported in Hanano, where only less than a third of residents used the local nurseries (5/16), while around half of the residents did so in both Halab-AlJadeeda (7/15) and Hamdanya (7/12). Private nurseries were more used than public ones (Private: 5 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 4 in Hamdanya and 2 in Hanano. Public: 2 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 3in Hamdanya and 3 in Hanano).

Usage of nurseries outside the neighbourhood was also highly affected by socio-economic conditions, with around half of the interviewees using nurseries outside their neighbourhoods in Halab-AlJadeeda (7/15). Meanwhile, in Hamdanya and Hanano, the usage of nurseries outside the neighbourhood was much less. Some interviewees reported not sending their children to nurseries at all: most (7/16) in Hanano, 4/12 in Hamdanya, and 1/15 in Halab-AlJadeeda. One interviewee in Hamdanya reported taking children to nurseries available in their work place and 4 in Hanano reported arranging different forms of childcare for their children near their work places.

In general, residents in the three case study neighbourhoods welcomed having the existing nurseries in their neighborhoods, especially the private ones. However, the majority showed low satisfaction with the quantity and the quality of these local nurseries. Reasons for the low satisfaction varied between the neighbourhoods and also between publicly and privately provided nurseries.

In terms of physical aspects, the late provision and inadequacy of local nurseries, especially at the early stages of the settlements, was reported by many residents in terms of both public and private nurseries to be dissatisfying.

Public nurseries were generally reported by most interviewees to be of poor quality in terms of crowding (40 children in each room with one teacher), equipment, and qualification of staff. Private nurseries were better perceived by most residents, as only a few residents reported those local private nurseries as of poor quality in terms of staff and equipment; a few also added that private nurseries in converted ground floors of residential buildings were not suitable for children, especially when large numbers of children are enrolled.

Moreover, the fact that nurseries, even UoW nurseries, were not free was expressed by many residents to be a main obstacle preventing them from sending their children to nurseries, especially for residents in Hanano, where one resident added that private nurseries outside the neighbourhood are more affordable than the public ones inside.

In addition to the above aspects affecting the usage of local nurseries, a few residents chose to use nurseries outside their neighbourhoods, based on reputation and previous knowledge.

Finally, the majority of residents interviewed expressed the need to improve local nurseries and that, if they were provided with good quality local nurseries, they would rather use one inside the neighbourhood.

7.2.6 Religious buildings

Interviews showed high perception of accessibility and usage of religious facilities as the majority of residents considered their local religious building to be accessible. . However, local religious buildings were frequently used only for Friday prayers, which are attended mainly by men. Some interviewees reported daily visits to religious buildings. Children and women were reported to visit religious buildings occasionally, depending on activities available to them. The adequacy and proximity of religious buildings was appreciated in all three case studies; however, in Hamdanya and Hanano many residents said that at the early stages of settling in the neighbourhood a religious building was not available or not adequate

7.2.7 Recreational facilities

Better accessibility of recreational facilities was reported by residents in both Halab-AlaJadeeda (15/17) and Hanano (14/18) than by residents in Hamdanya (10/15). This perception of accessibility can be linked to the different availability and location of recreational facilities in the three neighbourhoods. However, actual usage of recreational facilities did not reflect residents' perception of accessibility.

Interviews showed the usage of green spaces (public gardens) is linked to socio-economic condition. More usage was reported in Hanano (11/18) and Hamdanya (9/15) than in Halab-AlJadeeda, where less than half of the interviewees use local public gardens (7/17). Moreover, in the two lower socio-economic conditions people reported more frequent use of green spaces (weekly at least depending on the weather and school holidays), while residents in the higher income neighbourhood reported less use of green spaces. In the latter two neighbourhoods a few residents (3) in Hamdanya and (4) in Hanano reported using green spaces outside their neighbourhoods. The rest of interviewees reported not using the green spaces at all. The number of residents who reported no use of green spaces was again related to the socio-economic condition of the neighbourhood, as this was more frequently reported in Halab-AlJadeeda than in Hamdanya and Hanano[97].

To sum up, the majority of respondents in all three neighbourhoods reported poor satisfaction with the quality of the local green spaces. Contrary to the usage these facilities, the dissatisfaction with them was more frequently mentioned by residents in Hamdanya and Hanano than by those live in Halab-AlJadeeda. Reasons given for the low perception of green spaces related to different aspects:

The location of public open space did not emerge as a very important issue for the majority of participants. However, some interviewees expressed dissatisfaction at the level of access they had to open spaces, especially in Hamdanya, where the main public garden was seen by many interviewees to be located in an area that serves only part of the neighbourhood and to be too far from the rest of the neighbourhood. Others discussed the lack of range of modes of transport to reach them, especially for households with young children or low mobility: "*there is only one public garden, and it is in the (first part of the neighbourhood). . . It is not for the whole neighbourhood you know. We are supposed to have such a garden in the (two other parts of the neighbourhood)...we should not walk all that distance to reach the public garden"* (Residents 18, Hamdanya).

[97]The frequency of usage can be attributed to other reasons rather than the quantity and quality of green spaces: the difference in building typology between the case study neighbourhoods where the size of the housing and the availability of wide balconies and private garden varied among them, and the ability of people to afford other entertaining facilities like outdoor cafes and private playing areas.

The lack of appropriate physical infrastructure and furniture in these areas (e.g. seats, bins, toilets, cafes), was frequently mentioned by residents in the three neighbourhoods. The inadequacy and poor quality of playing areas facilities for children and youngsters also emerged as important: *"the children would never have a turn on the swing or slide, it is very crowded and I feel it is unsafe for them to play, especially for the younger ones as they would be probably knocked down by the other kids"* (Residents 19, Hamdanya). "*There is nowhere my two boys can go in the neighbourhood, they would go all the way to the (private playing ground outside the city) to play a football game...other kids play on the street, they sometimes throw the ball into our front garden...it is quite disturbing"* (Residents 6, Halab-AlJadeeda). In Hanano, where there is a plot designated as a playing ground, many residents complain of the lack of appropriate management and maintenance of this plot: "*many youngsters would play in the undeveloped playground plot, ...however there is no grass there, they could have done much better with it... I will never send my kids there, it is not safe, and there is nobody responsible for managing the area"* (Resident 41, Hanano).

Although the majority of residents complained about the lack of appropriate furniture in green areas, the presence of seating and playing areas in the open spaces was perceived by some residents in Halab-AlJadeeda to have a negative effect: "*kids usually play in the parking areas...it is a shame that there is no playing area for the kids...But at the same time, if there was seating and a playing area, people would come from outside the neighbourhood (referring to poor areas)...they would soon break the toys in the playing area and we would have litter everywhere"* (Residents 8, Halab-AlJadeeda JM area).

Residents in Hanano and Hamdanya frequently mentioned the inadequacy and crowding of the existing developed green spaces (one public garden in each neighbourhood), especially on weekends and holidays: "*I do not bother to go now, I used to try but there is no way you would find a seat in the park on weekends or in summer time"* (Residents 19, Hamdanya). Moreover, the late development of the green spaces was also highlighted by many residents in the three case study areas, especially those who moved to the neighbourhood in the early stage of the development.

In addition to the above aspects, participants frequently discussed dissatisfaction with the maintenance and care (e.g. cleanliness, litter, vandalism) of green spaces within their neighbourhoods: "*I don't take the children to the playing areas . . . because there's glass, rocks ... last year they rushed a little girl to the hospital as she was badly injured hitting her head on the rocks down the slide"* (Residents 28, Hamdanya).

For many participants, this dissatisfaction related to the part that the local authority has to play in the upkeep of the open spaces: in all of the case study areas, though especially in Hanano, interviewees discussed the maintenance and management of their neighbourhood open spaces, regardless of whether they personally used them or not, and how it affected other aspects of their life[98]: "*the small green areas are terrible, these are focal points of dirt... some are used to bin garbage... insects and mosquitoes are everywhere because of them...you cannot open your home window in summer because of the mosquitoes... the city council is not doing its job here, they just ignore this neighbourhood... what can we do?"*(Residents 40, Hanano).

Other users of the green spaces have also affected the residents' perception of the green space in different ways. For some, the problem of cleanliness and maintenance related to the users of open space: "*They've first put nice seats and benches, plants and several bins in there but some people broke them, they broke the seats... It is a shame*" (Residents 18, Hamdanya). For others it influences their feeling of security: "*It is used by all the . . . smokers, alcoholics, youngsters and wild kids playing, I would never dare send the children alone even though it is very close to home*" (Resident 39, Hanano).

The feelings of security were also sometimes related to presence of poor lighting as well as the reputation of a place. This issue is discussed in more detail in Section 6.6.

[98]Different views of this problem were discussed by officials in the DS in chapter5, who partly blamed the residents for the poor condition of recreational facilities.

7.3 Mode of travel to local facilities

Residents were asked to identify by what mode they get to the essential facilities, and why they use that mode.

7.3.1 Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

Interviews showed that the main means of travel to shopping facilities inside all three neighbourhoods was walking, but that poorer people walked more often. In Hamano and Hamdanya all residents walked to local shops, while about two thirds did so in Halab-AlJadeeda . 3 residents in Halab-AlJadeeda reported sometimes using their private cars and another 2 reported using the delivery services available from corner shops. In Hamdanya, 2 interviewees reported occasionally using a private car to access specific corner shops that are not very close to their homes.

As mentioned earlier the proximity of corner shops to homes was highly appreciated by most of the interviewees. This was mentioned as the main reason for walking to these shops. At the same time, the distance of the local and neighbourhood shopping centres from some of the interviewees' homes was mentioned as an important reason for not choosing to walk to these facilities. However, the inadequacy of appropriate pedestrian provision (e.g. safety crossing, treatment for prams and wheelchairs) emerged as an important issue dissatisfying many of the interviewees who walk to shopping facilities, especially parents with young children and people with less mobility. Finally, the availability and comfort of using the car was mentioned by some interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda as a reason for driving to shopping facilities, while one interviewee stated that they drive rather than walk because it is more prestigious.

With regard to travel to shopping facilities outside the neighbourhood, a private car was the main travel mode reported by interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, whereas public transport was more reported in the other two neighbourhoods. As a corollary, the private car was used by mainly residents of the upper middle income neighbourhood Halab-AlJadeeda (13/17); lower use of cars was found in Hamdanya (6/15). In Hanano all interviewees reported using public transport if they need to access outside shopping facilities. When asked about satisfaction with the means of travel, residents mentioned

the lack of appropriate pedestrian provision as a reason for low satisfaction, and problems with public transport: crowding, lack of punctuality, low number of vehicles, low frequency, difficulty of use with children, elderly and disabled, and limited destinations[99].

7.3.2 Community centres

As mentioned in s6.2.2, community centres were not available in any of the three case study areas.

7.3.3 Health centres

Interviews showed that the main mode of travel to health facilities inside the neighbourhood was walking. The main reason given by interviewees for walking to health facilities was the short distance to them. However, as mentioned in the previous section, the inadequacy of pedestrian provision was a cause of dissatisfaction with walking. The lack of other appropriate means of travel (public transport, which does not provide an adequate service within the local neighbourhood) was also mentioned as a reason for dissatisfaction in Hanano.

In travelling to health facilities outside the neighbourhood, the private car or taxi was commonly used. This mode of travel also showed a relationship with the socio-economic conditions, as this was the main means of travel used by residents in Halab-AlJadeeda, and respectively less in Hamdanya and least Hanano. The opposite was found in term of using public transport. Interviewees who used public transport were usually not satisfied for the same reasons mentioned in s7.3.1.

7.3.4 Schools

Interviews showed that the main mode of travel to school inside the neighbourhood was walking. However, a number of interviewees mentioned not being satisfied due to fear of car accidents *"three accidents happened last year... young children were knocked down by cars...schools open on to main roads where cars drive at high speeds. They (the*

[99]In Hanano some interviewees mentioned negative attitude and low respect of bus drivers towards passengers probably due to the crowdedness in busses.

*council) provided a metal barrier in front of the school gate, but this is not enough... They should do more to protect our children" (*Resident 21, Hamdanya*).* The lack of appropriate pedestrian treatment to help children walk safely to schools and to help parents with young children in prams to walk their children to schools were also mentioned by many interviewees.

Another important reason mentioned as a cause of dissatisfaction was the traffic jam made by mini buses coming to drop children from outside the neighbourhood or coming to pick up children going to schools outside the neighbourhood: "*You would see 60 mini buses coming to take children to schools outside the neighbourhood in the morning and to bring them back in the afternoon which makes a big traffic jam"* (Resident 47, Hanano), this was also seen to impact safety of children: "*The mini buses are a disaster, they would park in front of the schools without caring for the safety of the school children... you can hardly walk in front of some schools at drop in and pick up times...this is unsafe"*(Resident 19, Hamdanya).

To travel to school outside the neighbourhood, the main means of travel was the school bus, which was the only means of travel in Halab-AlJadeeda. In Hamdanya and Hanano this was used in combination with public transport, which was more frequently mentioned in Hanano than in Hamdanya. However, the higher use of public transport in Hanano did not reflect people's satisfaction with this means of travel, as interviewees who used the public transport mentioned that the main reason for using it was the unaffordability of other means. People stated that public transport was unsatisfactory for the same reasons mentioned earlier.

7.3.5 Nurseries

Interviews showed that the main means of travel to nurseries inside the neighbourhood was school bus (4 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 3 in Hamdanya and 2 in Hanano) and then walking (3 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 4 in Hamdanya and 3 in Hanano).

Parents welcomed the school bus because of its comfort, and for those not living close to the nurseries the school bus was much appropriate than walking with young children. The main reason given for walking were the short distance if people where living very close

to the nurseries. However, even with good proximity to nurseries, interviewees who walk their children to nurseries were not satisfied with pedestrian provision, which does not cater to parents with prams or safe crossing.

For travel to nurseries outside the neighbourhood, school bus was most used. Availability and comfort of the school bus were the reasons for using it.

7.3.6 Religious buildings

The main means of travel to religious buildings inside the neighbourhood was walking due to the short distance to religious buildings, which were highly appreciated by most residents in all neighbourhoods. However, the inadequacy of pedestrian provision was a reason for low satisfaction with walking, especially for elderly; this was frequently associated with the early stages of the development when fewer religious building were provided.

7.3.7 Recreational facilities

Data from the interviews showed that the main means of travel to green spaces inside the neighbourhood were walking as most residents who would use green spaces would walk to them. Only one interviewee in each of Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya reported using private car or taxi. As with walking to other facilities, many residents expressed dissatisfaction with the pedestrian provision, especially as the trips to green spaces usually involve children and elderly: "*My mother- in-law lives with us, she likes to come to the garden but she cannot come on her own you see... she would need someone to help her on the steps... I believe all the elderly people need help to walk on those roads...there are so many places on the road when you would have to pass through few steps" (*Resident 4, Halab-AlJadeeda).

For travel to green spaces outside the neighbourhood, private cars or taxis was the main travel mode; none reported using public transport to access green spaces outside the neighbourhood, mainly due to the limited destinations of public transport, the long time taken by the bus and its lack of comfort, especially as most of the journeys to green spaces involved elderly and young children in addition to reasons mentioned earlier. The

availability and comfort was also mentioned as a reason for using the car: "*There is no direct route to the (green space outside the neighbourhood); you will have to take two buses to go, it will take you more than one hour to go and more than one hour to return, it is thus no way I can take my whole family in the bus, it will not be comfortable for women and children, the bus is designed to accommodate 38 people sitting and up to 12 standing up, but you could see 100 people stuffed in the bus*." (Resident 36, Hanano).

7.4 Social interaction

To evaluate the impact of local facilities on social interaction in the neighbourhood, people were asked if they thought that these facilities are providing them with opportunities for social interaction.

7.4.1 Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

The interviews suggested that using the local shops has a positive impact on social interaction, with more than half the interviewees citing positive impact of using local shops on raw social interaction. The highest perception of the impact of local shops on social interaction was in Hanano which, as shown in 6.1, has the highest usage of local shops; Hamdanya came second (11/15), and last came Halab-AlJadeeda (10/17).

The main reason given for this perception was that the use of local shopping facilities provides a chance to meet and greet with other residents in the neighbourhood and one might have a little chat while shopping. However, in Halab-AlJadeeda some interviewees reported that this only happens if people know each other previously and most probably happens in the nearest shops where nearby neighbours usually shop.

On other hand, some of the shopping facilities were not always seen to have a positive impact. Some residents reported negative impacts, depending on the type of facility: in Hamdanya, some residents mentioned that when corner shops are messy and not well organised, this might prevent social interaction. Some interviewees added that some specific types of shop even have a negative impact, mainly the internet café: "*who would like his kids to go there (internet cafe) and mix with those bad youngsters gathering there?"* (Residents 29, Hamdanya). Similarly, the shopping centres in both Hamdanya

and Hanano were seen to be unable to permit social interaction too; in both Hamdanya and Halab-AlJadeeda this was perceived as due to poor enclosed interior design: "*the shopping centre is dark, there is no lighting, there is no place where you can sit and chat"* **(**Residents 28, Hamdanya)**.**

Finally, In Hanano, there was a mention of the possible impact of the background of residents on level of social interaction, as many of them have come originally from the same village or town, which might promote better social interaction in the neighbourhood.

7.4.2 Community centres

The lack of community centres and the limited impact of *Mokhtar* centres and RC centres prevent the potential of such facilities to increase social interaction. However, in JM area, Halab-AlJadeeda, few interviewees reported that the centre of JM had a positive impact occasionally, depending on the activities available to local residents. The cultural centre in Hanano was not reported to have any impact on social interaction.

7.4.3 Health centres

The interviews revealed a very low impact of health facilities on social interaction: only one interviewee in Halab-AlJadeeda and another one in Hanano thought that the local health facility has a positive impact; they noted that they would usually go with neighbours or meet them there for immunisation. However, the majority found no impact due to the low usage and also to the fact that these centres are usually very crowded - frequently mentioned in Hanano - and users are mostly from outside the neighbourhoods.

7.4.4 Schools:

Interviews showed that about half the interviewees found that school had a positive impact on social sustainability. In Hamdanya and in Halab-AlJadeeda most of the interviewees who used the local schools thought that they had positive impact in creating an opportunity for kids to improve their social networks (8/16) in Halab-AlJadeeda and 9/15 in Hamdanya. However, in Hanano only (8/17) found positive impact of schools on

social interaction. Although Hanano is the neighbourhood with the highest usage of local schools, some of the interviewees found they have a negative impact due to many reasons: crowding; mixing with children from outside the neighbourhood (mainly from informal areas); and traffic jam and the gathering of youngsters in front of schools, which deprived them of opportunities to have social interaction at the school gate: "*the school is too crowded, the courtyard is jammed with kids in the break so there is no chance for social interaction... there is a huge number of kids from different backgrounds, some of them are not well behaved you know, that is scary not only for the kids but for teachers too. I don't like that my kids have to mix with those kids"* (Resident 39, Hanano). The problem of traffic jam and the gathering of youngsters in front of schools were also mentioned by some residents in Hamdanya and Halab-AlJadeeda.

In addition, parents who walk their children to school said that the crowding and traffic jam in front of schools at drop-off and pick-up times prevent chances for social interaction.

7.4.5 Nurseries

Few residents (8 in all three neighbourhoods), mainly those who walk their children to local nurseries, found that local nurseries have a positive impact on increasing social interaction. The rest of interviewees found no impact.

7.4.6 Religious buildings

Interviews suggested that using the local religious buildings has a positive impact on social interaction. However, this impact was very dependent on the frequency of usage; as mentioned earlier men were the main users of religious buildings either on daily or weekly bases, while women and children were using religious building less often. In general, even though the majority of interviewees found positive impacts of religious buildings on social interaction, most of them suggested that it would increase if more activities were provided there for all groups of people (women and men, children and youngsters).

7.4.7 Recreational facilities

Interviews revealed that in their existing condition green spaces (mainly public gardens) do not have a positive impact on social interaction. The relatively low usage of these spaces was an important reason; those who do not use recreational facilities found no impact of these on social interaction. Moreover, of those who use green spaces only a few associated the use of green spaces with the opportunity for social interaction. Of those who use green spaces, a higher proportion of those from Halab-AlJadeeda (4/7) perceived a positive impact on social interaction than in Hamdanya (3/9) and Hanano (3/11).

Barriers to social interaction were attributed to many causes. The lack of appropriate furniture and playing areas for children and youngsters was seen to be important. In Hanano and Hamdanya people also frequently mentioned crowding as an obstacle: "*there is only one garden which has seating areas, you will hardly find a place to sit, and if you do it is not comfortable, the way the seats are arranged does not give you a chance to chat with other people because the benches are far away from each other"* (Resident 28, Hamdanya). The crowding was sometimes associated with users from outside the neighbourhood: in Hanano, users from the surrounding informal areas were seen to be further reducing the opportunities for social interaction: *"the public garden is serving both the neighbourhood and the surrounding areas. People there are from different backgrounds, this would not help social interaction" (*Resident 39, Hanano*).* Some interviewees related the lack of social interaction to antisocial behaviour of some users and to lack of security: "*the public garden is used by so many different people, there is a reputation of bad things taking place there, there is no security there, it is not a place where you can sit and have a nice conversation with somebody."* (Resident 40, Hanano).

7.5 Safety and security

This section provides insights into what impact local facilities have on safety and security within the neighbourhood and how.

7.5.1 Shopping facilities; local and neighbourhood centres

In general, the majority of the interviewees said that the corner shops have a major positive impact on increasing safety and security, with the highest positive perception reported in Hanano (18/18), then in Hamdanya (13/15) and least Halab-AlJadeeda (14/17). The main cause of this impact was opening until late hours and having their windows and doors open to the street, and also due to the good lighting they provide to the streets: "*since the corner shops were opened there has been a big change in security in the neighbourhood; the streets where there are corner shops are much safer than other streets; these are serving as police in the neighbourhood"* (Resident 47, Hanano). Only a few residents in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya found no impact for local shops on safety and security within the neighbourhood; these were mainly people living where corner shops were not available.

However, not all shops were seen to be of positive impact on safety and security. Some people related the impact of the corner shops on safety and security to the type of the shops and the shop keepers "*it is all about the type of the shops, some shops will cause problems...internet shops for example...youngsters will gather in front of them and make loud noises until late hours at night"* (Resident 22, Hamdanya). Some interviewees in Hanano reported accidents and crimes that took place within or in front of these cafes: "*the internet cafe shops are sources of (bad behaviour)... There are fights...there are knives*..." (Resident 34, Hanano).

The neighbourhood centre in Hamdanya and the old and new shopping centres in Hanano were frequently mentioned as not having a positive impact on safety and security and in some cases these were regarded instead to have negative impact. The enclosed design was expressed as an important reason for reducing feeling of safety in both the neighbourhood centre in Hamdanya and the new shopping centre in Hanano, as the shops in these are not open to the street: "*The neighbourhood centre closes early, apart from that it is scary from inside; it is not open to the street*" (Resident 19, Hamdanya). In Hamdanya also, the fact that most of the shops in the neighbourhood centre are still closed was also seen to be reducing the feeling of security. However, in Hanano some interviewees welcomed the safety measure (CCTV) provided in the new shopping centre (the popular market). The most negative impact of shopping centres on feeling of safety and security was

associated with the old shopping centre as already mentioned in 6.3.1. Some residents also added that it reduces the feeling of safety in the street where it was located: *"I would never want to walk through that old shopping centre at any time and I would never even want to walk near it at night"* (Residents 38, Hanano).

7.5.2 Community centres

As none of the case study neighbourhoods included a community centre, the impact of these on safety and security is not applicable.

7.5.3 Health centres

When asked if local health facilities are seen to have an impact on improving safety and security within the neighbourhood, the majority found a low impact. No clear differences were found between the three neighbourhoods; 4 interviewees in both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya and 6 in Hanano reported a positive impact. The positive impact was mainly associated with clinics in ground floors overlooking the streets, and also private hospitals which opened 24 hours. The public health facilities were reported to have very limited impact on safety and security, because of their short opening hours – they usually close at 2:00 or 3:00 pm.

7.5.4 Schools

The majority of interviewees said that schools have limited positive impact on improving safety and security within the neighbourhood. Only a few said that schools slightly increase it during school hours,: 2 interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, 4 in Hamdanya and 6 in Hanano.

Moreover, some interviewees found that sometimes schools even have negative impacts, due to many reasons: car accidents caused by traffic jams from school-buses gathering in front of schools at the start and end of school days and by the opening of some schools directly on to the main streets; lack of lighting and security after school hours; and the

high walls of schools: "*I pass by the school at night, it feels creepy, you would not know what is behind the high wall"* (Resident 4, Halab-AlJadeeda). Other interviewees related the lack of a feeling of safety and security to the poor cleanliness and maintenance of schools. Moreover, some interviewees, mainly from Hanano, associated the negative impact of some schools to the gathering of youngsters in front of them, especially high schools.

7.5.5 Nurseries

Interviewees reported very limited impact of nurseries on safety and security. Only 6 interviewees- 2 in each neighbourhood- reported a positive impact. Moreover, this was limited to the working hours of the nurseries- they usually close at 2:00 pm.

7.5.6 Religious buildings

The majority of the interviewees said that the religious buildings have a significant positive impact on safety and security (14 interviewees Halab-AlJadeeda, 13 in Hamdanya and 15 in Hanano). Reasons given for this were mainly the good lighting of these buildings and the frequency of visits to them during the day. In addition, many interviewees added that the availability of religious buildings is a source of safety and security in itself.

7.5.7 Recreational facilities

Most of the interviewees found no positive impact of green spaces on safety and security. Moreover, a significant number (21/50) of the interviewees also found a negative impact of existing recreational facilities, both public gardens and smaller green spaces, on safety and security: 4 in Halab-AlJadeeda; 6 in Hamdanya; and 11 in Hanano. Reasons for this negative impact were mainly: lack of lighting at night time, and gathering of youngsters, but other issues were also reported. The perception of safety and security from green-spaces increased clearly with the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood.

The location and surrounding of the green spaces played an important role in feeling of safety and security caused by them, especially in Hanano: "*the public garden is scary to walk by at night, especially the northern side next to an empty hospital-plot"*(Resident 41 Hanano). Neglected green spaces were also seen to reduce security, especially the lack of maintenance; this was frequently mentioned in Hanano, less in Hamdanya and least in Halab-AlJadeeda: "*The derelict open spaces between the blocks are turned into dumping areas; you would feel unsafe to pass by them"* (Resident 40, Hanano). The lighting of the green spaces was frequently mentioned by residents in the three case study areas. In addition, the lack of observation and security at night was also mentioned: "*the public garden will stay open till 11:00 pm in summer but it is not well lit nor patrolled at night…there are no guards. You would want to avoid passing by."* (Resident 26, Hamdanya).

7.6 Sense of place

This section focuses on the contribution of local facilities to attracting people to their neighbourhoods.

7.6.1 Shopping facilities, local and neighbourhood centres

In both Halab-AlJadeeda and Hanano more than half of the interviewees found that shopping facilities have a positive impact on sense of place (10/17 in Halab-AlJadeeda and 12/18 in Hanano). In Hamdanya, only less than half of the interviewees (7/15) saw a positive impact.

The main reasons for the positive impact were the proximity of shopping facilities, especially corner shops, and also the impact of these on improving safety and security as discussed in the last section. Residents who saw a limited impact of corner shops on sense of place associated this mainly with affordability, variety and quality of services available.

On other hand, shopping facilities were also associated with a negative impact on sense of place, for many reasons. In terms of corner shops, some residents reported that the visual appearance of some of these shops was not always appreciated, especially in Hamdanya: "*They deprive the neighbourhood of a large area of green spaces. They negatively affect the physical appearance of the neighbourhood; they vary in height, roof, and façade; in addition, many of the shopkeepers have goods displayed in front of the shops in a messy way"* (Resident 28, Hamdanya). Another reason for reducing sense of place was specifically internet cafés, as these would attract youngsters and cause a lot of disturbance to the neighbours. One resident in Hamdanya expressed high dissatisfaction with corner shops: *"the excessive corner shops make me hate staying in the neighbourhood...this is the main reason I wish to move to a different one"* (Resident 19, Hamdanya).

In terms of shopping centres, different views were provided. In Halab-AlJadeeda, even though providing shopping centres was welcomed in general, some interviewees stated that this will have a negative impact by attracting outsiders and causing noise and parking problems. Moreover, the high rise of the buildings was also noted by some residents *"the (shopping centre in JM* area) *is an eight storey building; it is a disaster for its surrounding residential buildings*" (Resident 8, Halab-AlJadeeda). Moreover, the old shopping centre in Hanano was seen to have a negative impact on sense of place: many interviews reported avoiding the area at night because of its bad reputation. The shopping centres in Hamdanya and Hanano were seen to have no impact in general.

7.6.2 Community centres

When asked about the impact of the existing community facilities on sense of place, the majority of interviewees found the lack of such a facility dissatisfying. The existing community facilities were reported to have no impact on increasing sense of place in any of the neighbourhoods. In Halab-AlJadeeda, residents in JM area reported that the RC of JM have some positive impact in terms of occasionally providing some communal activities. On the other hand, residents in Halab-AlJadeeda did not welcome the use of

the plot, allocated to community centres in the original plan, as a restaurant and sports centre, which they claimed to be attracting outsiders and causing noise and parking problems, thus reducing sense of place, especially for the immediate neighbours.

7.6.3 Health centres

Data on perception of the impact of local health facility on increasing the sense of place within the neighbourhood showed mainly no or negative impact due to the conditions of health facilities, described in s6.2. A few residents expressed a positive impact, mainly because of access to medical facilities in case of emergency (2 interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, 3 in Hamdanya and 3 in Hanano).

However, the lack of adequate local health facilities was seen as reducing sense of place in all three case study neighbourhoods. This had more importance in Hanano and Hamdanya than in Halab-AlJadeeda, where people could easily afford to access outside private facilities. The delay in providing the health facilities e.g. the hospital in Hanano was also mentioned by many residents: "*The whole area lacks such a facility, we requested many times for the municipality to build the hospital but they didn't respond.*" (Resident 47, Hanano).

Private hospitals were also cited as reducing sense of place in Halab-AlJadeeda, due to: crowding in front of the hospitals[100]; and parking problems as these hospitals usually do not have parking areas: "*My heart sinks when I think of when the (private hospital) will open...it is just in front of my home; people will be coming and occupying the pavement in front of the hospital, they will stay for days sometimes to accompany their patients."* (Resident 6, Halab-AlJadeeda).

[100] Crowdedness is caused by the tendency of poor families of patients from outside the city to stay in front of the hospital occupying the pavement for long time that could take few days.

7.6.4 Schools

Interviews showed a low positive impact of local schools on sense of place despite their high usage. Only 6 interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, 5 in Hamdanya and 6 in Hanano saw a positive impact. Reasons mentioned for this were: the location of some schools far away from the homes, crowding, the late provision and the unavailability of some schools (e.g. the lack of a male high school in Hanano), the two-shift trend, the poor quality of some schools and also the traffic jams caused by school buses at the start and end of school days. Some interviewees also added the poor appearance of the school buildings.

7.6.5 Nurseries

A few interviewees noted that existing local nurseries have a positive impact on sense of place: 6 interviewees in Halab-AlJadeeda, 5 in Hamdanya and 4 in Hanano. The availability of a nursery facility within the neighbourhood was reported as the main reason affecting sense of place within the neighbourhoods, especially in Halab-AlJadeeda. Interviewees who did not see that the availability of local nurseries has a positive impact attributed this to: the lack of appropriate quality and quantity of nurseries within the neighbourhoods, the delay of provision and, most important, the unaffordability of fees.

7.6.6 Religious buildings

All interviewees reported that religious buildings increase a sense of place within the neighbourhood.

7.6.7 Recreational facilities

The majority of the interviewees welcomed the availability of open spaces within their neighbourhood, especially when compared with other neighbourhoods that do not have such a space: "*It is good to have wide open spaces, the green spaces are good, you know... fresh clean air. We are luckier than those living in other neighbourhoods where no open*

spaces are available" (Resident 22, Hamdanya). However, only less than half of the interviewees associated green spaces in their neighbourhoods with a positive impact on sense of place (9 in Halab-AlJadeeda, 6 in Hamdanya and 7 in Hanano). Most of the interviewees discussed that in terms of quality, green spaces were not perceived with positive impact on sense of place. Perception appears to match the socio-economic condition of the neighbourhood, due to relative levels of maintenance and care; provision of services like seats, toilets, bins, cafes; security and gathering of youngsters within these areas. In Hanano and Hamdanya the neglected small green spaces were perceived as a big problem: "*Which green areas? These are not green areas; these are dumping areas"* (Resident 40, Hanano).

7.7 A Comparison of the impact of the different local facilities on social sustainability in the three case study neighbourhoods

7.7.1 Accessibility and usage of local facilities

The findings from the three case studies show that accessibility and actual usage of local facilities varies between neighbourhoods and between facilities. In terms of facilities, religious buildings were the most accessible and used, with almost all interviewees reporting using them, followed by schools with around four-fifths of interviewees who reported local schools to be accessible and using them[101], and then shopping facilities with almost three quarters perceiving local shops to be accessible and more than two thirds using them[102], around four fifths of the interviewees reported having access to local green spaces (mainly public gardens) while slightly more than half use them. Two third of the interviewees reported having access to local nurseries but less than half use them, and only around one third reported having access to local health services while only a quarter use them. On the other hand, low accessibility and usage of most facilities was reported in the early days of settlement in all neighbourhoods.

[101] Around one fifth of the interviewees who used the local schools still have to access schools outside their local neighbourhoods.

[102] More than two thirds of the interviewees reported using local shopping facilities for part of their main shopping, however, those who use the local facilities for most of their shopping area many fewer.

With regard to neighbourhoods, Hanano, the lower-middle income neighbourhood, showed the highest accessibility and usage of local facilities (except for nurseries), followed by middle income Hamdanya and then upper-middle income Halab-AlJadeeda. Socio-economic conditions were seen to affect usage of local facilities, as lower income people usually lack the choice of using facilities inside or outside their neighbourhoods.

However, usage of the local facilities was not always accompanied by satisfaction with them. Negative perception of local facilities was frequently mentioned by interviewees from Hanano, despite the high usage of local facilities there. The main reason for satisfaction with some facilities was their availability and proximity. Reasons for low satisfaction included: delayed provision and absence of provision; inadequacy (in terms of quantity); poor quality of local facilities, both public and private but mainly public ones; lack of variety of facilities to respond to residents' needs (shops, health clinics, nurseries); poor management of local facilities; poor maintenance; lack of advertisement and information about available facilities.

7.7.2 Travel mode

Results show the main travel mode to access most of the local facilities inside the three case study neighbourhoods is walking. Only a few interviewees reported using a private car or taxi to access local facilities. Public transport was not reported as a mode of travel within the neighbourhood. However, slight differences were found in travel mode both between neighbourhoods and between types of facility. Walking was the only mode in the lower-middle income neighbourhood Hanano, except for travelling to nurseries. Halab-AlJadeeda showed the highest use of private cars to access local facilities; this can be attributed to the higher car ownership. However, despite the strong tendency to walk to local facilities, the lack of appropriate pedestrian provision for parents with young children, the elderly and people with limited mobility was frequently reported to decrease residents' satisfaction with walking.

Regarding travelling to facilities outside the neighbourhood, the mode varies both between facilities and between neighbourhoods. Private car and taxis were used most in the upper-middle income neighbourhood, less in the middle income and least in the lower-middle income. The order is reversed in the use of public transport. Public transport was

most used to access facilities like shops and then schools. It was hardly used to access health facilities and not used at all to access nurseries or recreational facilities. In general interviewees reported low satisfaction with public transport, which was seen to be of poor quantity and quality, while taxis were seen as very expensive (especially in the middle and lower-middle income neighbourhoods).

7.7.3 Social interaction

Some of the local facilities were perceived to have a positive impact on social interaction, while others were perceived to have a low or no impact. Religious buildings are the facility with the highest positive impact on social interaction, though this impact was seen to be limited as men are the main users. Corner shops rank second and schools third; all three of these facilities were considered by more than half of the interviewees to increase social interaction. Recreational facilities and nurseries follow respectively, these were reported by around a fifth of the interviewees to be creating opportunities for social interaction. Health facilities were considered to have a low impact on increasing social interaction. However, many interviewees noted that recreational facilities would have potential to increase social interaction if their condition were improved. With the exception of recreational facilities, the impact on social interaction was seen as slightly higher in Hanano than in the two other neighbourhoods.

In general, interviewees reported many reasons for the poor impact of local facilities on social interaction: lack of communal facilities in general- like a community centre; poor maintenance and management of other facilities that could create an opportunity for social interaction (e.g. shopping centres and recreational facilities); crowding of other facilities (e.g. health facilities; schools; and recreational facilities); presence other users of facilities from outside the neighbourhoods (e.g. health facilities; schools; and recreational), mode of travel to local facilities using private car or school bus; and traffic jam in front of some facilities (e.g. schools and nurseries).

7.7.4 Safety and security

Some local facilities were seen to have an important positive impact on safety and security within the neighbourhood, while others were seen to have no impact or a negative impact. Shops (mainly corner shops) and religious buildings were seen by the majority of

interviewees to have the highest positive impact on safety and security. Health facilities, schools and nurseries was associated with much less positive impact. In addition, negative impact was associated with recreational facilities and also with some of the shopping facilities (e.g. internet cafes and the old shopping centre in Hanano).

The impact on safety and security was slightly affected by the socio-economic conditions, except that in Hanano a higher impact of local facilities was found in terms of both positive and negative impacts[103]. The main reason for the positive impact of local facilities on improving safety and security was that these would provide eyes on streets. Residents reported the following reasons for the negative impact of local facilities on safety and security: poor architectural design of some facilities- e.g. shopping centres with narrow unlit corridors; schools or other facilities with high walls which reduce the feeling of safety at night; schools opening directly on to main streets, which causes traffic accidents and traffic jams; peripheral location of some facilities; users of some facilities (gathering of youngsters in recreational facilities and in front of some schools and internet cafes); poor maintenance and cleanliness (of green spaces and empty plots); lack of appropriate surveillance/guards; and poor lighting.

7.7.5 Sense of place

Finally, in terms of sense of place, the existing local facilities in the three case study areas were seen to be positively contributing to the sense of place by only less than half of the interviewees. The impact on sense of place varies between facilities. The most positive impact was associated with religious buildings; shopping facilities - mainly corner shops - were also associated with a positive impact on sense of place, despite negative issues with some of these shopping facilities. The rest of the facilities were seen to have a low positive impact or in some cases a negative impact on sense of place within the neighbourhoods. In general, having access to good quality local facilities was identified by all residents as a main source of sense of place, regardless of which neighbourhood they live in. However, the positive impact of local facilities on sense of place was slightly

[103] This can be related to the general conditions of safety and security which increased with the improvement of socio economic conditions of the neighbourhoods; thus, the impact of local facilities on safety and security was more evident in the lower- middle income neighbourhoods.

lower in Hanano, despite the higher usage of facilities there. The inadequacy of the local facilities and the delay of provision of these facilities were frequently cited by residents in all three neighbouhoods: "*At the beginning it was very bad; we lacked many facilities…now it is better"* (Resident 42, Hanano). The proximity and locations of some facilities were less frequently mentioned as residents usually used the nearest facilities to their home, though in a few cases this issue was mentioned: **"***The school (female high school in Hanano) location is secluded and the area around it is still under construction*[104]*... It is not safe to go there and I would never let my daughter walk there.."* **(**Resident 37, Hanano).

The interviews also revealed that not only the availability of local facilities but also their quality played an important role. Other reasons were also mentioned like visual pollution of some facilities like informal corner shops; noise pollution; parking problems and traffic jams resulting from some facilities; unaffordability, poor maintenance and cleanliness, especially in terms of recreational facilities and empty plots; the turning of these into places for dumping garbage; and also other users of some facilities.

However, care should be taken here that results on sense of place were only considered with regard to the impact of local facilities rather than general sense of place. Local facilities account for only part of the residents' sense of place; some of the interviewee, especially from Hanano, revealed many other reasons for lacking a sense of place regardless having or not having the local facilities: "*I lived here for long time now, but the neighbourhood lack any aesthetic value, it is also not a good place to raise your kids, you would want your kids to grow up in better place and to mix up with better kids and be educated in better schools… it is disturbing here*" (Resident 39, Hanano). Another resident in Hanano said: "*I would like to leave to a better home and a better neighbourhood if I could afford it***.** *Local facilities are important but there are many other things that are important too*" (Resident 42, Hanano).

[104] The female high school is located at the north of Hanano, and surrounded by empty plots (the undeveloped hospital, and the undeveloped plot of the post office.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relationship between local facilities and the different aspects of social sustainability. The findings were obtained based on residents' perception of the impact of the local facilities on five aspects of social sustainability. Moreover, prior to reflecting on the findings of the analysis, it is important to note that the different local facilities discussed in this research have different characters which influence the potential impact of the facility on social sustainability.

In general, findings from the case studies agree with the literature that well-provided local facilities would contribute to improving social sustainability at the neighbourhood level. However, they show that the provision of local facilities in the three case study areas did not promote the potential impact of the local facility on social sustainability in all three case study areas, except in relation to usage of facilities.

Perception of accessibility of local facilities did not show a specific pattern in relation to the socio-economic conditions of the three case study neighbourhoods. However, this did not reflect on the pattern of usage of these facilities, which had negative correlation with the socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhoods.

The usage of facilities significantly varied as Hanano, the lower-middle income neighbourhood had noticeable better perception of usage than Hamdanya which also had better perception of usage than Halab-AlJadeeda. Local facilities in general were seen to be accessible only by less than two thirds of the residents. Of those who use the local facilities, many thought that these was inadequate and also of poor quality and many of them also were using such facilities outside the neighbourhood in addition to the local facilities.

Existing local facilities, in general - especially unplanned private facilities scattered through the neighbourhood - were seen to be accessible via walking. This supports existing literature on the importance of local provision of facilities to the accessibility of services via appropriate means of travel. However, many of the interviewees highlighted that pedestrian provision was not sufficient in all three case study areas. On the other hand, travel mode for accessing facilities outside the neighbourhood, which was common

as local ones were sometimes unavailable or available only with poor quality, varied depending on socio-economic status. The use of public transport was not satisfactory to most of the residents who reported using public transport to access facilities outside their neighbourhood.

Provided local facilities had even less positive impact on social interaction; safety and security; and sense of place than on accessibility and travel mode; less than half of the interviewees perceived positive impact of local facilities on these three aspects of social sustainability. Moreover, some of the existing local facilities in the case study neighbourhoods were seen to be negatively affecting these aspects of social sustainability. This impact was more or less the same in the three case study areas with slightly higher positive impact in Hanano than in Hamdanya and then in Halab-AlJadeeda. However, in contrast to usage, local facilities had the higher positive impact on sense of place in Halab-AlJadeeda than in the two lower income neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, local facilities have different characters and thus different impacts on social sustainability. Findings from the case studies showed that provided religious buildings and shops had the most positive impact on social sustainability while other provided facilities had less positive impact. Moreover, facilities of the same type (e.g. corner shops and shopping centres; public health centres and private clinics) had different impacts on social sustainability which can be highly attributed to the pattern of provision of these facilities. The next chapter draws on the link between the provision process of local facilities and the impact of these on social sustainability.

Chapter 8 Analysis of the implications of urban governance for neighbourhood sustainability in Syria

In the two previous chapters the process governing the delivery of local facilities and the impact of this on social sustainability in the three case study neighbourhoods were explored. This chapter links the two aspects together and explores the relationship between governance process and sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

8.1 Reflection on social sustainability in relation to different forms of provision of local facilities

Chapter 7 discussed the impact of the different local facilities on the main aspects of social sustainability as identified in the literature. Local facilities were found to have a relatively low positive impact on social sustainability. However, the impact on social sustainability varied significantly between facilities. Most importantly, it varied between those provided publicly and those provided by the private and civil society sectors.

Positive impact was associated mainly with local facilities that were nearby and of good quality. Poor positive impact and negative impact were associated with many physical and nonphysical issues. Perhaps the most important physical issues were the actual availability of the local facilities, as some of the local facilities were still awaiting development while others were changed into different facilities (e.g. local health centres); while others were not even planned (e.g. community centres).

The delay in the provision of some facilities was seen to be negatively affecting social sustainability as many facilities have been provided long after the development of housing. Similarly the inadequacy of local facilities was reported by interviewees to be negatively affecting social sustainability; many of these facilities were provided in a quantity that were much less than residents need, causing them to be very crowded. Moreover, in many cases facilities were not provided in the variety required to meet local needs (variety of corner shops, private schools and nurseries, health clinics etc.). In contrast, some facilities, mainly informal corner shops, were sometimes perceived to be excessive and were associated with a negative impact due to sound pollution, visual pollution etc.

In addition, many of the local facilities were associated with poor architecture in general – e.g. the high walls of schools, the enclosed design of some shopping centres – which in some cases affected not only the visual appearance but also aspects like safety and security. Poor architectural design included lack of appropriate furniture that could enhance opportunities for social interaction, for example. In addition to these issues, the poor maintenance of many of the local facilities, especially public provided ones, was frequently mentioned to be reducing their positive impact on social sustainability; such facilities are deemed essential, yet their qualityis too low for them to fulfil their function effectively. The unaffordability of local facilities, mainly private ones, was also frequently mentioned.

The reasons for the poor influence of these facilities could mainly be attributed to poor governance of their planning and implementation.

Accessibility and usage

Religious buildings, which were mainly provided by civil society, were the most accessible and used local facilities in the three neighbourhoods. However, this usage is limited to certain activities that are managed and controlled by the state. An approach to managing these activities which calls on both the local authority and the residents, might offer a more effective way than depending wholly on the state.

Schools were the second most accessible and used local facilities[105]. However, more than one third of the interviewees were still using schools *outside* their neighbourhoods, half of them doing so because some schools where not available in their neighbourhood (e.g. no male high school in Hanano). This lack was even worse at the early stages of the development as public provision of schools was usually late in relation to provision of housing. The state was the main provider of all planned schools; unplanned private schools were not provided[106]. However, the public schools had to be run in two shifts in order to accommodate local demand. Moreover, public schools were usually

[105] This refers only to interviewees with children of school age.

[106] Only one private school was provided within the district Centre in Hannao but was used at the city level.

characterised by poor quality. On the other hand, although it is not applicable to compare different forms of provision at the neighbourhood level, as the state was the only provider, private participation in providing better quality schools outside the city was affecting people's attitude to using local schools. The provision of new private schools encouraged residents to send their children to private schools outside their neighbourhoods.

Shopping facilities were the third most accessible and used local facilities. However, markedly higher usage was associated with the unplanned corner shops which were provided, formally and informally, by the private sector than with the planned publicly-provided shopping centres. The shopping facilities that were provided and managed by the public sector were perceived to be further away than the corner shops and also of poor quality and poor management[107]. The delay in providing some of the planned shopping facilities (in Halab-AlJadeeda and Hamdanya) along with state closing some of the existing shopping facilities (the conveniencestores in Hamdanya) were seen to be reducing accessibility.

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, there were significant relationships between the socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhoods and the use of shops, which can be attributed to the better availability of shopping facilities in the two poorer neighbourhoods. In addition, residents of the wealthier neighbourhoods could afford to access facilities outside their local neighbourhoods more easily than could those of the poorer ones.

Recreational facilities, which were mainly provided and managed by the public sector, were the fourth accessible and used local facility[108]. The state proved to be unable to provide quality and quantity recreational facilities that satisfy residents' needs[109].. On the

[107]The commercial street in Hanano which was designated with shops on both sides - similar to corner shops was developed long after a huge number of corner shops was already provided, and was only partially active, thus it failed to attract residents. The only planned facilities that were well used were the small local centres in Hamdanya and the RCoJM shopping centre, which were delivered early and were designated of similar character to corner shops.

[108] With only slightly more than half of the residents visiting their local public gardens.

[109] The public gardens were considered to be of such limited quantity that most of the recreational facilities were crowded, especially with users from outside the neighbourhoods; and interviewees also cited poor

other hand, private sector and civil society participation in providing green spaces in Halab-AlJadeeda (through housing associations, RCoJM and international organizations) were seen to have slightly improved the quality of the provision of recreational facilities. However the private sector and civil society participation showed a potential to further improve the quality of the green spaces and consequently residents' usage of them. On other hand, the civil society participation (the RCs and the residents) was also associated with negative impacts in terms of converting parts of the public open spaces into private ones and also in terms of not providing seating and playing, which affect the public accessibility of these facilities.

Nurseries, which were provided mainly by the semi-public sector (Union of Women (UoW)) and by the private sector, were less accessible than other facilities, apart from health facilitiues, and were little used[110]. The UoW role was similar in the three case study areas through providing only one nursery in each neighbourhood that was inadequate in terms of quantity and frequently of poor quality. The private nurseries, on the other hand, which were more available in the upper middle income and middle income neighbourhoods, where the state permitted such participation, were more used than the public provision. The state role in managing private provision was seen, by private providers, to be restricting private provision in general rather than facilitating it, especially in the lower-middle income neighbourhood.

Finally the health facilities were the least accessible and used local facility[111]. In addition, charitable local health facilities were also seen to be slightly improving the usage of health facilities. In general, the publicly provided facilities were seen to be way below people's needs in terms of both quality and quantity. Private ones were also not able to meet residents' needs with regards to the quality and variety of such facilities; while charity facilities were focused in the middle and lower-middle income neighbourhoods and were serving mainly at wider level than the local neighbourhood.

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quality with regard to availability of appropriate furniture and playing areas, poor management and maintenance, and poor safety and security measures

[110] Fewer than half of inerviewees used local nurseries.

[111] Only a quarter of the interviewees used their local health facilities. Most of those used the privately provided ones.

Travel mode

In terms of travel mode, findings from the case studies showed that the majority of residents in the three neighbourhoods walked to most local facilities; however, people less often got to nurseries by walking. In general, the location of facilities was not shown to have a significant impact on mode choice, due to the fact that the three case study neighbourhoods are relatively small in area and high in density. However, the good proximity of local facilities was associated mainly with unplanned local facilities which were scattered across the neighbourhood. In addition, the lack of appropriate pedestrian provision, especially when the trip would involve young children, elderly and disabled, affected the travel mode and satisfaction regardless of the proximity of these facilities. This was mainly reported regarding travelling to schools and nurseries.

On the other hand, where residents had to use facilities outside their neighbourhoods, the majority would prefer to use a private car or taxi. The poor quality of public transport was the main reason for this travel mode.

Social interaction

The third aspect of social sustainability examined was social interaction. The case studies showed that corner shops and religious buildings were the two main facilities providing opportunities for social interaction. Both are provided through formal and informal participation of the private sector and civil society respectively, which highlights the importance of their role in the provision process to promote social interaction. However, state management of activities in religious buildings was seen to be limiting. Schools were associated with positive impact by only half of the interviewees. Findings on other facilities - health centres, nurseries, and recreational facilities - showed limited positive impact of these on social interaction. In addition, an important facility that is expected to have a great impact on social interaction, the community centre, was absent from all three case study neighbourhoods. The low contribution of some local facilities to promoting opportunities for social interaction was related to many issues like: poor maintenance and management of some facilities; the lack of appropriate furniture; crowding; other users, traffic jam travel mode to some facilities, which can be mainly associated with the publicly provided and managed facilities.

Safety and security

The local facilities that proved to be increasing safety and security within the neighbourhoods were religious buildings and most of the corner shops, both provided mainly by the private and civil society sectors on planned and unplanned plots. These facilities were spread through the neighbourhood; working for long hours; and usually well-lit and maintained. In contrast, poor maintenance and cleanliness; lack of appropriate surveillance/guards and poor lighting of some of the publicly provided facilities (mainly recreational) and the empty plots of undeveloped facilities were seen to be of great impact on reducing safety and security, especially in Hanano and Hamdanya. However, some private corner shops, and internet cafes, were also associated with a negative impact on safety and security.

Sense of place

Existing local facilities were not seen in general to contribute to enhancing sense of place within the neighbourhoods, as only less than half of the interviewees reported a positive impact; indeed, some of these facilities were even seen to *reduce* the sense of place. Religious buildings were however seen to have a positive effect: the majority of interviewees reported a positive impact from religious buildings. Shopping facilities, mainly corner shops, were also associated with a positive impact, but this was reported by many fewer interviewees than the impact of religious buildings. Recreational facilities, nurseries, schools, and health facilities respectively were perceived to have a very limited positive impact on sense of place. In general, the actual availability of some facilities in good quality and quantity was the main factor that positively affected sense of place, and was frequently associated with private and civil society provision of local facilities. *Vice-versa*, the shortage of quality local facilities, mainly due to the delay of provision of planned facilities and the poor quality of provided ones, was an important reason for reducing the sense of place. Other important issues that were seen to be affecting sense of place were the visual pollution caused by some facilities; parking problems and traffic jams from some facilities. These issues were associated with both publicly and privately provided facilities.

All in all, the findings revealed that the conditions of existing local facilities in the three case study areas were having limited positive impact on the five aspects of social sustainability. However, the findings showed that, where local facilities were available in good quality and quantity, these were seen to be improve social sustainability in the neighbourhood. The facilities that contributed more positively to social sustainability, religious buildings, were provided and maintained by civil society. Positive impact on local sustainability also in many cases resulted from unplanned facilities that were formally or informally provided through participation of the private sector or civil society in the provision process. Publicly provided local facilities had the weakest positive impact on local sustainability in comparison to unplanned, formal or informal, facilities. Some of the facilities were associated with a negative impact on social sustainability from both public and private provision. The poor and late public provision and the disorganised private provision were seen to affect the impact of local facilities on sustainability in the case study areas. Moreover, many of the private informal facilities were threatened with being removed due to current practices in the governance process.

Thus, the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability can be strongly linked to governance process over planning and implementation of local facilities.

8.2 The significance of governance to social sustainability at the neighbourhood level

The research and the case studies showed that the formal process of governance does not involve a wide variety of the stakeholders. It shows a system largely controlled by state actors. It was the 'state as a provider' approach through its very dependence on state management of resources, which affected the appropriate delivery of local facilities. In this approach the market was excluded from the provision process in most cases, its participation being limited to running some publicly provided facilities. Community representation was undertaken by Residents Committees (RCs), Neighbourhoods Committees (NCs) and *Mokhtars*, residents being unaware of the presence and/or the role of these representatives. Rules over governance process proved rigid, unclear, contradictory and inflexible. Shortages in human and fiscal resources were seen as an obstacle to appropriate provision of local facilities. Differences in rationalities among the providers from the different sectors accompanied by unclear definitions of

responsibilities, along with unclear understanding of the value of local facilities, were seen to hamper the governance process.

Therefore, urban development in Aleppo, Syria, continued in a disorganized and potentially random pattern, led by the inability of the government to plan and implement local facilities that respond to the needs of urban growth and by private sector participation based on local demands rather than local needs. The state ended up responding to day-by-day conditions, following an 'emergency plan' rather than applying a well-structured development plan.

As was identified earlier in the literature review, the link between governance process and sustainable development is inevitable; governance is a component of sustainable development while sustainable development is both a product and a process.
The research focuses on the implication of governance of local facilities provision for urban social sustainability; governance is concerned with making policy and implementing practices; it involves different stakeholders, their roles and relationships; it also involves the rules affecting their actions, the resources available to them; and the rationalities that influence their practices.

The case studies have constantly showed striking differences between policies and practices; between national planning standards, plans and implementation. The shortage, or failure, of good governance were revealed to be strongly affecting the provision of local facilities and consequently the impact of this provision on social sustainability. For example the failure in implementing basic standard local facilities, as many of the planned local facilities were not provided for long time, was affected by the lack of clarity of policies and regulations, poor enforcement strategies to control the implementation process, and inadequate funding. On the other hand, the implementation of a great number of unplanned facilities resulted from the soft policies regarding formal change of uses and the poor ability of the state to control informal changes of uses. The formal governance process was inadequate and only partially applied; yet it was joined with an informal governance process; the product of these processes was a new form of local facilities that was far away from standard and plans and was changeable subject to changes in these governance processes.

These new forms of local facilities were unable in general to provide a potential positive impact on social sustainability. However, where good governance was performed through better participation of civil society and the private sector, there was evidence of better implementation and consequently better impact on social sustainability.

Thus, the development of a good governance framework for providing local facilities is essential to reach neighbourhood social sustainability; improving governance process is the way to improve social sustainability.

8.3 Reflection on the governance process in the three case study areas

The research strongly shows that it is difficult to isolate the causes of the impacts of local facilities and the effect of these impacts; the different influences of local facilities on aspects of social sustainability are a product of different governance practices over the provision of these facilities.

Stakeholders: Actors, roles, and relationships

Albeit in principle the state was to take responsibility for the provision of most local facilities, in reality the state was unable to successfully undertake its role and both market and civil society participated in the provision process.

As a provider, the state provided planned local facilities at too slow a pace in relation to provision of housing; some of these facilities were still absent a long time after the development of the housing, despite the density within these neighbourhoods having reached the threshold where these facilities should have been provided. As a main provider, the state only allowed minor participation of the formal market in running shops already provided by the state. Moreover, planning of local facilities was also seen to have been made without appropriate consideration of local needs in terms of range of facilities and location and proximity of some facilities. The state also proved to be unable to manage and maintain local facilities. The quantity of publicly provided planned facilities was also seen to be poor generally. As a result, the condition of existing publicly provided facilities in the neighbourhoods was associated generally with a poor impact on social sustainability.

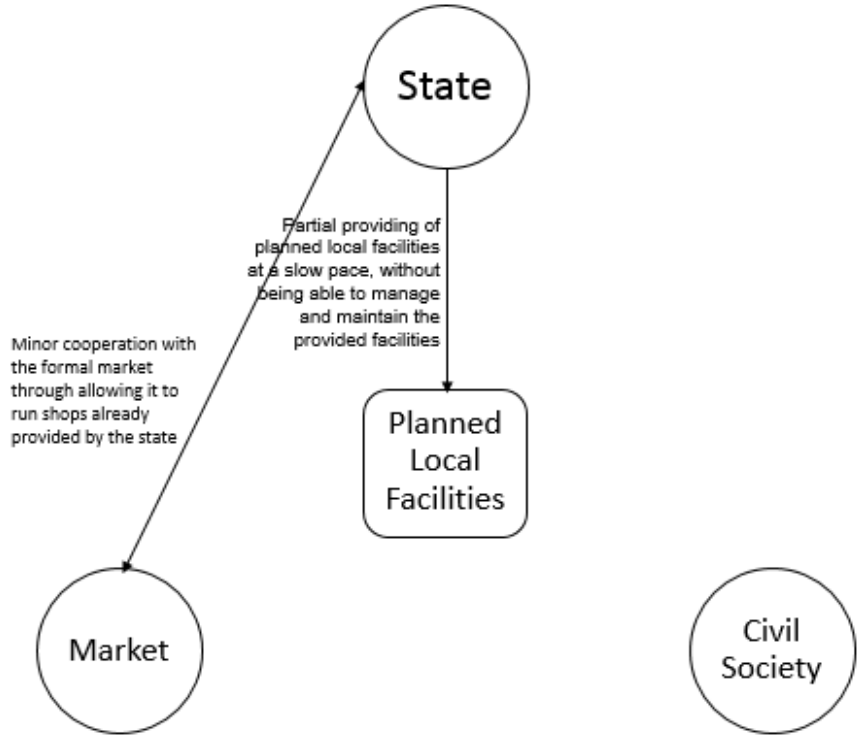

Figure 8-1 The state as the main provider.

The other approach also revealed in the governance process was where the market played a main role as a provider of some facilities. This role of the market was practised formally or informally in providing both planned and unplanned facilities. In terms of providing planned facilities, the formal role of the market was undertaken through partnership with the public sector. This role was introduced only recently. In this context the state played the role of facilitator and partner of the formal market at the same time. This private provision proved to be implemented faster than purely state provision. The quality of the shopping centre was also seen by many residents to be better in comparison to publicly provided ones, but, as mentioned above, this provision came late after other unplanned shopping facilities had already been implemented. Moreover, many residents also found that the shopping centre was still unable to meet their needs (design of the building, safety and security issues, affordability etc.). The other role of the market was undertaken through providing unplanned facilities (like corner shops, private medical clinics, private schools and nurseries etc.). This unplanned provision was mainly controlled by the individual choice of the private developers, which was probably based on the demands at local and city level rather than on local needs. This unplanned provision was affected by

the state's attitude, which permitted formal changes of use into a selected range of services in return for fees, and also by the state's attitude of turning a blind eye, which was changed recently to the attempt to prevent and demolish informal private provision regardless of local need. The latter attitude of the state was also encouraged by desire of the formal market to remove informal provision[112]. Both formal and informal planned provision proved to have been undertaken faster than with publicly provided facilities, despite the process of licensing being claimed to be complex and to take a long time. Civil society was not consulted about unplanned facilities, apart from limited consultation undertaken with residents in residential buildings where private nurseries were provided.

In general the majority of privately provided facilities, where available, were seen to be better than publicly provided ones in their impact on social sustainability[113]. However, these facilities were still unable to have a potential positive impact on social sustainability. Moreover, some of these unplanned private facilities were also associated with negative impacts[114]: a few of these facilities were also seen as unwelcome in residential neighbourhoods[115].

[112] The case of an attempt to remove the informal shops in Hanano was encouraged by formal private developer of the newly provided shopping centre and commercial street in Hanano.

[113] Private ones were perceived to include a wider range of services, better locations, better quantity and quality; nevertheless,

[114] Such as visual pollution, sound pollution, and unaffordability.

[115] E.g. internet cafes and the excessive number of corner shops in some cases.

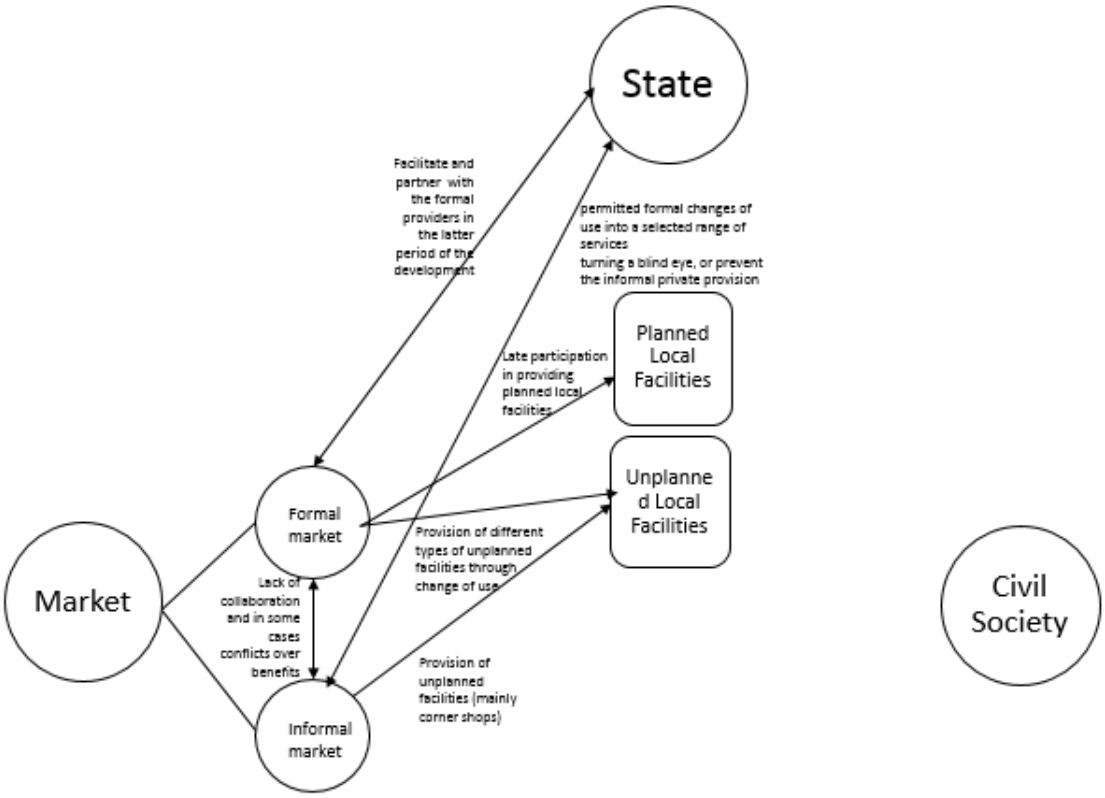

Figure 8-2 The market as the main provider.

The final approach to providing local facilities was through civil society participation as a main provider with the state facilitating this provision in most cases, mainly regarding religious buildings. However, in a few cases, the state turned a blind eye where provision was undertaken informally[116], came into conflict over informal provision after long period of ignoring it[117], and also prevented civil society provision[118]. In general, the civil society provision was very limited in the three case study areas. The participation of civil society was undertaken mainly in providing religious facilities, which were perceived to have a good impact on all aspects of social sustainability. A few other facilities were also provided though civil society as a main provider, like charity health centres, a library, and some of the recreational facilities. However, the role of civil society was limited to the

[116] The case of building a prayer room on a green area in Hanano.

[117] The case of the local centre provided by the RCoJM in Halab AlJadeeda.

[118] E.g. a charity health facility in Halab-AlJadeeda in others.

provision of these facilities, while management was to be undertaken by the public sector. The services provided in these facilities were thus affected by their management.

Moreover, civil society provision varies according to the provider. Where this provision was undertaken by charity donors, national, and international organizations, the facility was more likely to be directed to serve at the city level than when it was provided by the community members and organizations[119]. Formal civil society participation was affected by availability of a space to develop facilities, approved by the government, regardless of local need. However, as most neighbourhoods have shortages in local facilities, facilities provided by civil society were seen as supporting publicly and privately provided facilities and were associated with a positive impact on social sustainability in general.

[119] E.g. the case of maintaining the green space in JM area by the RC of JM.

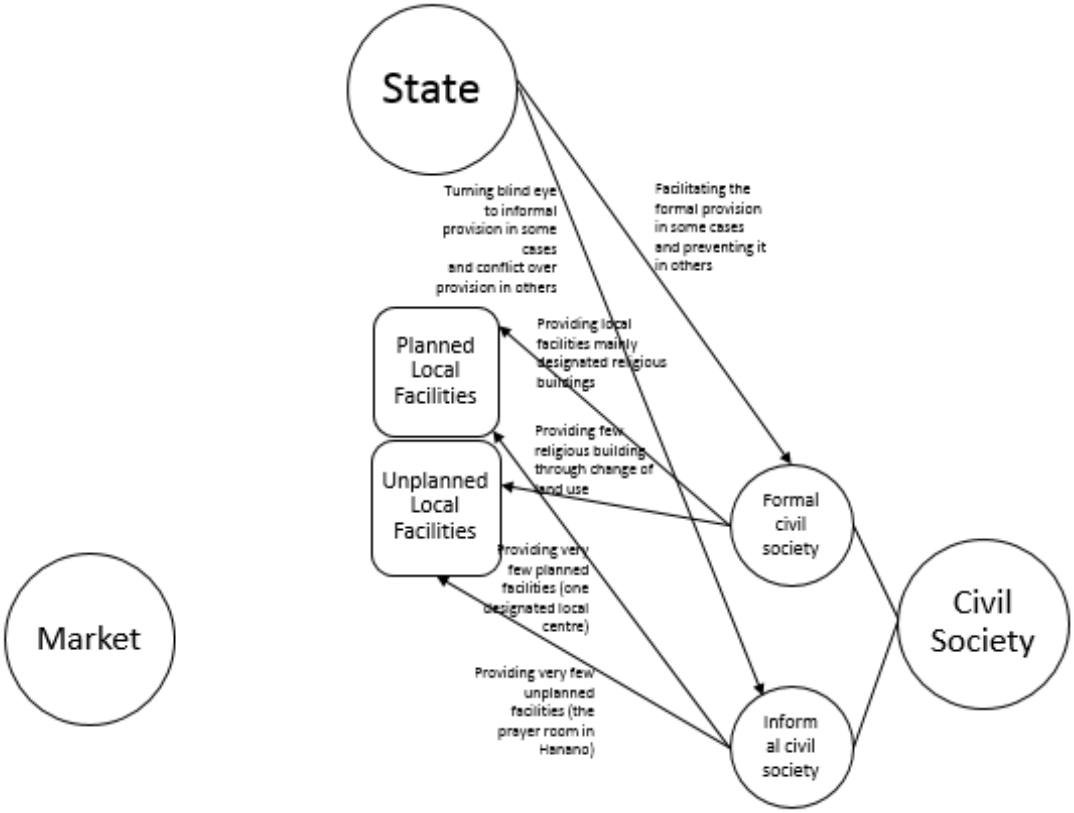

Figure 8-3 Civil society as the main provider.

Institutional factors: Rules, resources and rationalities

The stakeholders' roles in providing local facilities were affected by institutional factors (rules, resources and rationalities) and at the same time affecting them. These institutional factors, thus, have influenced the impact of the local facilities on social sustainability.

Rules

The research showed that governance process was significantly hampered by centralisation in decision making and the inefficiency in rules and regulations. A top-down approach initiated by the state was the main approach to providing planned local facilities. Other actors like civil society could only participate in speeding up the provision in some cases, and in management and maintenance of these facilities in other cases when residents and/or their representatives complained about some facilities. However, it was noted that these complaints faced many obstacles. Private sector participation was also limited to running some facilities that are developed and managed

by the state. In only a few cases were other actors (private sector and civil society) able to initiate the provision of planned local facilities[120]. Thus, the trend to make the public sector the only provider of facilities, through the command and control paradigm, was not successful in providing the basic standard local facilities, leaving many of the planned facilities undeveloped or of poor quality, while the new trend to involve the private sector in the provision process, which influenced the delivery of some recent facilities (e.g. popular market in Hanano) suggests that this might be successful in terms of quicker provision of facilities. The same can be said about the private provision of unplanned facilities.

The process that provided unplanned facilities was different. Laws defining unplanned private sector participation change over time, permitting the change of use to certain facilities in some periods and preventing it in others. The laws also changed in relation to housing typology in the neighbourhoods. Moreover, the procedures of formal change of use were reported to be complex and very long. However, local needs were not considered when permitting these changes of use and the range of these facilities was based on private sector decisions rather than the views of local residents[121]. On the other hand, application of these rules witnessed many breaches where the state was unable to prevent these breaches or turned a blind eye to them. These breaches were to be dealt with, in 2010, without proper consideration of the value of these local facilities for local residents' needs. Moreover, the laws controlling change of use proved to have limited consideration of the potential negative effects of these shops[122]. In general, these rules had a positive impact in terms of permitting the provision of local facilities that in return would enhance social sustainability in terms of providing accessible local facilities. However, the rules were not able to organise the private provision to provide the needed variety of local facilities in addition to appropriate quality and affordability. Moreover, these rules also prevented the provision of private local facilities and threatened to remove some of the

[120] E.g. the JKN shopping centres, the popular market. The former was provided through an informal process, while the latter was provided through the new form of public-private partnership that was introduced only recently.

[121] The findings from the case studies showed that the range of local facilities was not satisfying local needs.

[122] E.g. visual and sound pollution in terms of corner shops, parking problems in terms of shopping centres and private hospitals etc.

private ones which would in turn affect the impact of these facilities on social sustainability.

In addition, segregated administration was evident in both approaches, in addition to poor coordination and conflict in some cases among the actors from different sectors and also among actors from the same sector. This in turn proved to be affecting the delivery of the local facilities.

With regard to the national planning standards, these standards were based mainly on western standards, which were not very clear with regard to some facilities (e.g. in terms of community centres). Moreover, planning land use of residential neighbourhoods usually did not adhere to the national standards as it frequently included less area for local facilities. Moreover, it also proved to be not adequately responding to people's needs[123]. However, as standard local facilities were not well implemented in reality, it was not possible to measure how well these standards responded to local demands.

Furthermore, the implementation of the local facilities in the case study neighbourhoods showed that the planning law defining the implementation process did not specify a framework to define who will deliver the local facilities, when, or how. There was no timescale for the delivery of facilities and no clear vision of the procedures for allocating land. In some cases the unclear definition of the bodies responsible for the provision proved to be an obstacle in the provision process. Planning laws defining the implementation process also proved to have encouraged the municipality and some public sector providers to change the use from certain facilities to others, as such changes were permitted in the planning laws if these would benefit the public. However, decisions over uses of public land plots or over changing the uses were left to officials in the municipality to decide on the best public interest. There was no clear understanding of whether changes or new uses should be advertised to the public, which allowed for ignoring public opinion in most of the cases. Many of the facilities developed through the latter procedure have been associated with negative impacts on social sustainability.

[123] E.g. residents' preference for using corner shops close to their homes was not adequately taken into consideration.

Planning laws defining the public participation in the planning stage through 30 day advertisement were seen to be inefficient. Moreover, laws defining public participation through RCs and NCs suggest a strong role for residents' representatives but these were seen to have been weakly applied in the provision process, due to weak public awareness of this mechanism and to the weak response from the governmental bodies to these committees' needs.

All in all, in agreement with McAuslan (2008), analysis of the case studies proved that rules over the provision process are complex, confusing, overlapping, and rigid in their operation. The case studies demonstrate that the conditions of these rules contributed much to the poor planning and implementation of planned local facilities and to the formal and informal development of unplanned local facilities, which in turn influenced the impact of local facilities on social sustainability.

Resources:

Funds for providing planned local facilities were in most cases to be allocated by central government, as none were available for the local directorates. The limitation and complexity of the financing processes and the shortage of finance were seen as main obstacles to providing the local facilities. The same thing can be said about the land resources, as the shortage of plots designated for services and facilities at city level and at local level affected the use of the plots designated for local facilities at the neighbourhood level (the use of the plots designated as local health centres for city level health centres etc.).

Finance from the private sector and civil society was not used effectively in the delivery of most planned facilities, as in many cases the private sector and civil society were not permitted to participate in providing planned facilities, apart from religious buildings. However, these resources from the private sector proved to be helpful in providing unplanned facilities.

Furthermore, information flow proved to be very poor in the provision process, not only in terms of information shared between the state and other sectors, residents, community representatives and the private sector, but also in terms of information shared among members of the same sector. The shortages in human resources and information sharing were seen to

be an obstacle to proper development of local facilities and consequently for proper positive impact of these facilities on social sustainability.

Rationalities:

As determined earlier in this study, there is significant divergence in the rationalities of the different stakeholders for delivering local facilities.

In general the value of local facilities to sustainability was less stressed in public and private developers' rationalities. And, in particular, there was no consideration of the possible impact of these facilities on social sustainability.

The importance of locality was most evident in policy makers' attitude through setting up planning standards that identify a certain range of facilities which should be provided in each residential neighbourhood based on population catchments. However, according to interviewees, the standards were originally imported from western standards.

The value of local facilities at the neighbourhood level was not as important for other actors. Planners did not seem to accord the same value to local facilities[124]. However, findings from the case studies suggested that planners slightly favoured the lower-middle income in allocating larger areas than in the other two neighbourhoods. This attitude is influenced also by the planners' affiliation: planners from the municipality were keener to adhere to planning standards than were planners from the housing associations and the GCMH, who were more interested in allocating larger areas for housing than for facilities.

The value of the locality was even less evident in the perception of many of the actors responsible for the implementation of the local facilities, mainly from the public sector.

Public sector providers tend to focus on providing facilities at the city level; in many cases the use of local facilities was changed to serve at the city level. This attitude was affected by the condition of facilities at the city level in general[125]. Consequently, the different public providers were forced to respond to the current needs at the city level

[124] As they tended to allocate smaller areas for local facilities than suggested in planning standards.

[125] The slow implementation of the master plan, particularly, the slow development of the services zones and the change of uses of some of these zones to other uses, as discussed earlier in the study, played an important role in the poor provision of local facilities; the lack of land for services at the city level causes the use of some plots zoned for local facilities to serve at city level.

rather than the local level. Similarly, when making decision on the use of public services plots, the value of local facilities did not seem to be considered. Decisions were made based on views of officials which in many cases did not take account of local needs.

Similarly, a low perception of the value of local facilities seemed also to affect the attitude of the state towards unplanned private provision. The state did not always consider local value when permitting or preventing the provision of unplanned facilities. The public officials' attitude was more focused on adhering to formal rules than on the value of the local facilities; this prevented the development of local facilities which were needed at the neighbourhood level, while permitting the provision of facilities that were not welcomed locally. In contrast, the informal provision of unplanned local facilities was influenced the lack of control and discipline to enforce formal rules and prevent illegal breaches. Moreover, there was a conflict between the state actors regarding these facilities as the municipality aimed to control the illegal development, while other public sector bodies like water and electricity companies seemed to recognise the illegal facilities through making them pay commercial bills for water and electricity rather than residential bills (according to interviewees from informal private sector).

In addition to the influence of formal rules on the development of unplanned facilities, profit motive seemed to affect the state attitude towards the development of formal unplanned facilities; penalties for the formal change of use to certain facilities were perceived as a source of revenue for the municipality, thus change of use was approved as long as it is permitted by the formal rules, regardless of the local need for such facilities[126].

Nevertheless, the state's attitude towards development of planned and unplanned facilities (e.g. allocating public services land, permitting the change of uses, turning a blind eye to illegal development) was sometimes subject to the personal opinions of public officials not well qualified to judge; moreover, according to interviewees from different sectors, this attitude could be affected by corruption.

[126] This attitude was also evident in the closing of the GCMH nursery and the closing of the conventional store in Hanano when these were seen to be unprofitable.

The profit motive was the main issue influencing **private sector** provision. Formal private participation was influenced by the formal rules over the provision process, while informal private provision was influenced by the poor enforcement of these rules.

In terms of the **civil society** perception of providing local facilities, this slightly varies between the different actors. When provision was undertaken by the community sector[127]. However, in the case of green spaces of JM the fear of attracting outsiders also dominated the provision of appropriate services i.e. playing areas for children. On the other hand, when facilities were provided by charitable bodies (from outside the neighbourhoods), it was directed mainly to serve at a level wider than the local neighbourhood[128]. In addition, profit motive was also evident in some of the civil society provision[129].

In addition to the different rationalities discussed above, the lack of clarity in understanding the meaning of some facilities proved to be affecting the provision process[130]. Moreover, the lack of clarity in defining responsibilities encouraged a culture of blame under which the different actors (from the same sector or from different sectors) blamed each other for the lack of proper provision or the poor condition of local facilities.

8.4 Reflection on the context of the political economy in Syria and urban governance at the national level

In addressing the problems of governance processes for providing local facilities in Syria, this research reflects on wider issues with respect to the political economy context of Syria and of other countries in the Middle East and elsewhere with similar contexts. While the previous section discussed in detail deficiencies in the governance process for providing local facilities in the three case study areas, this section reflects on the urban governance process in Syria in general and links the different components of the governance process with each other and with the wider political economy context.

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[127] E.g. maintaining green spaces in JM area, and providing a religious building, the importance of the value of the locality and quality of services was evident.

[128] E.g. the charity health centres.

[129] E.g. the development of the area zoned as a community centre in Halab-AlJadeeda as cafe and restaurant.

[130] E.g. local and neighbourhood centres were planned and developed as shopping centre, community centres was not implemented in any of the case study areas.

In general the research shows a wide gap between policies and practices in urban development in Syria, which is a common characteristic of urban development in developing countries (Khan and Swapan 2013). Urban development in Syria has continued through a mix of both public planning and informal planning[131] which can be strongly attributed to deficiencies in the urban governance process.

8.4.1 The limitations of the state as a main actor in the 'government rather than governance' approach to development (weak state but not strong societies)

Lambach (2004) argued that in contexts where the state claimed wider responsibilities than its capacity, this will put high pressure on the state and result in its failure to provide. Such practices are specifically true in developing and post colonial countries, with limited financial resources (Lambach 2004). This was the case in Syria. The state-intended role to provide formal urban development and act as a main provider was restricted by the poor political economy of Syria, as explained in chapter 5, where the state claimed full power excluding other components of society, and these conditions were further worsened by the financial crisis. Thus, the state was unable to match the huge responsibility which, in theory, it accorded to itself. Similar situations were found by research in other socialist countries in the region (e.g. Dorman 2007), and also in countries in Eastern Europe which followed the socialist centralised planning (e.g. Burdumy 2013, Hirt and Stanilov 2007, and Molodikova and Makhrova 2007).

Migdal (1988) viewed the state which cannot provide for its people as a weak state that lacks infrastructural power to rule. Dorman (2007) argued that while the failure of the state to provide is doubtlessly a result of poor infrastructural power, the 'authoritarian regime type' plays an important role in such failure. Migdal (1988) strongly associated the weak state with a strong society that has the power to control development instead of the state, and argued that the strength of society might limit the state's ability to strengthen. However, this research found evidence that is contrary to Migdal's (1988) association of weak states with strong societies and strongly supports Dorman's (2007) view that participation of other actors in civil society is rather a result of the state's attitude

[131] This concept was evident in other research on urban development in Syria (e.g. Hasan 2012, Clerc 2011)

towards these actors. In Syria, other actors in society, the market and civil society, were unable to act as strong actors. As described in chapter 5, the state restricted the ability of these sectors to empower themselves to play an important role in the development process. The failure of the state to provide was, thus, impacted by the dominant role of the state accompanied by marginalisation of the role of the market and civil society.

8.4.2 The failure of economic reforms

The present research and the discussion of the political-economic context of Syria showed a weak state-society relationship. This research, despite offering only a limited analysis of specific practices of urban governance for providing local facilities, strongly advises caution in making claims about a shift to modern governance in Syria. The state attempt to control society was successful and a very limited role was left to formal participation of society. The research showed that the attempts to achieve economic reform and encourage wider market and civil society participation were limited.

While Heinnebusch (1995) considered the economic reform in Syria as an end to previous constraints put by state (Baath party) on the private sector, Dawahare (2000) criticised such positive view of economic reform in Syria. Dawahare (2000) argued that Hinnebusch ignores that economic reforms are unable to succeed without appropriate political reforms. He also added that in contexts with a predominant influence of the state, such reforms can benefit the state's economic elite rather than the market in general. In agreement with Dawahare (2000), this research showed that formal planned participation was characterised by uncertainty and ambiguity where private developers (according to interviewees from the informal private sector) were not given adequate information about participation processes (for example how to participate and periods of rental time). Moreover, the possibility of patronage relationships was also evident in the research. The economic reform was only partially successful in promoting formal private participation. The first economic reform did not seem to enhance the role of the market in the provision process. The second reform, however, widened the role of the market to participate in providing some services (private nurseries). The attempt to change from centralised to decentralised planning (2001 reform) was only partially successful. The wider role which was given to the local service directorate was still limited. Although a wider role was to be given to the market and civil society, the state still had strong control over the activities

of these sectors. The research showed that formal participation was limited to the parts of the market that had good connections to the state (e.g. CoAM, Military business GCoMH) while other members of the private sector (specifically the informal market) were excluded from benefiting from the reform.

The limitations of economic reform in Syria were also found by other researchers (e.g. Haddad 2012, Hasan 2012). Similar to the case of Syria, failure to adopt a 'full move' to decentralization is common in many developing countries shifting from a top-down approach to a more bottom-up one, where state institutions demonstrate sham signs of decentralisation while still controlling other actors and not making serious actions (e.g. Khan and Swapan 2013, Dorman 2007,2013).

However, in Syria as in other developing countries with similar political economic contexts which alienated formal participation of society, unplanned and informal participation of society was common.

8.4.3 Unplanned private participation (formal and informal)

Daniels (2004) stated that the state failure to fulfil its responsibility is an important factor in encouraging the informal economy. This was the case in Syria, where the state was unable to provide services properly while its effort to encourage planned formal participation of the private sector was very limited. Thus, the private sector stepped in to fill in the gap in services provision through unplanned participation.

The unplanned development was led by both formal (legal) and informal (illegal) participation of the other actors in society. Unplanned formal provision was encouraged by the state's desire to generate revenue out of institutionalising such activities. *Hasem Mukhalefah* (legalising breaches) laws, implicitly, encouraged private developers to deliver a large number of unplanned facilities, which became accepted as a norm in planning. However, where formalising unplanned participation was not possible, due to financial cost, bureaucratic procedures and building codes, unplanned provision was undertaken informally. Such conditions were common in Syria, as in other developing countries. Daniels (2004) stated that informal economies' attempts to join formal ones are usually hampered by 'institutional, financial and regulatory barriers'. In Syria, such

conditions were accompanied by the state's tendency to neglect and, in some cases, implicitly permit informal development, which contributed to increasing such activities. Dorman (2007 p 263) stated that "the absence of top-down interventions is not a general indication of political weakness. While they may reflect infrastructural defects, inaction and incompetence may be a diagnostic of the viability of authoritarian power relations". The research shows that the state inaction towards informal participation of the private sector in Syria stemmed from three main reasons. First, the lack of capacity to enforce the prohibitition of such activities. Second, the negligence and tolerance attitude from government officials. Third, the corruption when officials turned a blind eye to informal provision being developed in front of them. Such informality is not uncommon in other developing countries (see for example Dorman 2007and Daniels 2004).

Nevertheless, the research showed that albeit the unplanned formal/informal participation had contributed to a large extent to providing services that people are dependent upon, officials usually viewed the informal provision as merely a violation of planning laws that need to be demolished. Such attitude to informal provision has accompanied the informal economy in many developing countries (Daniels 2004, Dorman 2007). However, legalising unplanned provision through '*Hasem Moukhalafah*' showed that the government was able to dispense with planning laws when it wanted to. In addition there was evidence of taxation of some of the illegal facilities by some governmental organization despite being denied formal status, which reflects the confusion in attitudes towards the informal provision. In general, informal provision in Syria, as in other countries (Dorman 2007, Daniel 2004) was always vulnerable to removal by the government. Informal providers who are not well connected to the state do not seem to have a say in decision making in this regard while, in some cases, actors in the formal private sector with good connection to government, influenced the official desire to remove informal facilities as the latter reduced chances for flourishing the late formally-provided services.

However, despite sharing the threat of being demolished, members of the informal sector were unable to organize themselves. Dorman (2007) suggested that the informal sector's failure to create 'local governance, institutional, social cohesion' could be largely due to the top-down control of urban development. Recognising the context of informal

participation in Syria, this research supports Dorman (2007) warning against understanding informal participation as merely as a breach of the law, or simply a form of popular participation ignoring the actual relationship with the state, the formal and informal market and the context of decision making. Rather, informal provision should be fully understood as a result of the state's lack of capacity to provide an alternative to the unplanned services and the exclusionary tendency of the state towards possible roles of other actors.

8.4.4 Limitation of civil society participation

The failure of the state to engage with the society included not only the market but also civil society. The claims that Syria was gradually joining the global economy with serious attempts to empower civil society that took place since early 2000s (Alberti and Sayed 2007) were seen in this research to be of limited success. The research shows that, similar to attempts to empower the market, the few reforms undertaken in Syria were unable to empower civil society. The first two reforms only implicitly referred to civil society. The recent reform in 2000s was more explicit in addressing the importance of the role of civil society in development, with attempts initiated by international organizations to empower civil society. The research agrees with Hasan (2012, 2014) that such attempts were unable to achieve the intended results.

In agreement with Hasan (2012, 2014) and (Alberti and Sayed 2007), the research shows that the formal participation of civil society in Syria, was still highly controlled by a top-down framework in which representatives of civil society are selected by the state rather than by civil society. Moreover, those representatives were only given a limited role in urban decision making. The latter view agrees with Connelly's (2013) discussion of the importance of representation especially in a complex political environment where representation shouldn't exclude any part of civil society; in addition participation should not be about simply having a voice but rather about actual involvement in decision making. Such concept was significantly lacking in the Syrian case.

However, community based organization that were formed away from government control (e.g. residents committees) were sometimes more successful than those selected and controlled directly by government. The latter seemed to be mostly unknown by

residents who they are supposed to represent and with too limited effect on urban governance. The former seemed to be slightly better known to people and more able to represent residents' needs, albeit acting against residents' will in some cases[132]. Similarly, religious based organizations and charities had better contribution to services provision through providing direct funding. However, these participations were very limited in comparison with the important historical role such organizations used to play in urban development and services provision in Syria and other Middle East countries. This can be strongly attributed to the attempts made by the Baath state to control civil society, as discussed in chapter 5. The research also showed that, in general, funds provided by civil society organizations (charities and international organizations) was helpful in terms of constructing the facilities. However, making decisions over how the funds are going to be used and where, and over the running these facilities, was highly controlled by the government.

This research, thus, agrees with Alberti and Sayed (2007) that despite the rhetoric in countries in the Middle East on the importance of strengthening the role of civil society and establishing mechanisms to achieve this goal, little has been done in practice. Hasan (2014) stated that in Syria, like in many other developing countries, the state applied only a "minimum participation model" which was idealistic rather than practical in empowering civil society. She argued that such shift did not consider the complex context of civil society in Syria, which acts both formally and informally. However, the failure to empower civil society has been noted in many developing countries, particularly those in the Middle East (Dorman 2007, El-Kak 2000, Clerc 2012).

8.4.5 The lack of clarity, the conflict of rules and the lack of an enforcement mechanism

Rules over urban development are doubtlessly an important factor in urban governance in general and the provision of local facilities in particular. McAuslan (2008) noted that in Syria a "top-down command and control approach" dominates urban development. While planning laws are unable to deliver 'formal and legal development', at the same

[132] See the role of RC of JM in proving local facilities in Halab_AlJadeeda.

time they partially contribute to the informal and illegal development (McAuslan 2008 p 10). As discussed above, the present research showed evidence of deficiencies in planning laws for the provision of local facilities which impact on the poor conditions of local facilities. Nonetheless, the research found that the deficiencies of planning laws are only partially responsible for the condition of local facilities, while the enforcement of these laws could be even more important. This also agrees with McAuslan's (2008 p 10) view that the impact of these laws is not only a result of 'faulty or inadequate content of the laws', but an impact of the 'inadequate implementation of the laws'. Moreover, the poor monitoring of the implementation of these rules opens possible opportunities for corruption and misuse of power. Such reasoning is not uncommon in other developing countries and Middle Eastern countries where "rigidity in legislations and reluctance in enforcement" are seen as an important hindrance to urban development (e.g. Dorman 2007 p 254, Gilham 2010).

With regards to unplanned and informal provision, the research showed that the conflict of rules and the lack of clear vision to managing the unplanned and informal development collided with opportunities for proper engagement and benefiting from such development. Moreover, the lack of an enforcement mechanism to avoid violations to planning laws makes it even harder to manage the unplanned development (McAuslan 2008).

8.4.6 The lack of finance, poor distribution and poor management

Shortages in resources and poor distribution are common reasons for which poor urban governance is blamed in developing countries and Middle East countries. Moreover, centralised distribution of resources via routine channels and lack of local involvement contributed to the scarcity in public funds available for providing local facilities. In addition, the exclusion of formal private and civil society participation and the poor management of funding flows from private sector and civil society organizations hampered opportunities to overcome such scarcity. Had public resources been distributed properly and private and civil society ones been utilised to provide local facilities, they could have enhanced the conditions of these facilities.

In addition, in agreement with Dorman (2007), this research showed that while these shortages in financial resources and in land specified for local facilities at the city level,

and in some case at the local level is, doubtless, an important factor, it is a mistake to assume that the conditions of local facilities are simply a result of these shortages, as government officials tend to claim. The resource constraints are only one part of the whole picture of deficiencies in the urban governance process.

8.4.7 The deficiencies and conflicts of values

While the rules and resources factors are strongly important institutional factors to explain the condition of local facilities, actors' values are as important. The perception and attitude of public sector actors involved in services provision and urban governance were strongly affected by the unclear planning laws and standards and the shortages in resources. In addition, they are also affected by the fragmentation in the provision process between different public entities that lack coordinaion. These entities were accountable to central government rather than local ones: "there is absence of horizontal networks between the government organizations" (Interviewee 31, Government official). Thus, values such as locality were almost absent from official perceptions. Consequently, there was evidence of toleration of scarcity and poor quality of facilities at the local level. The attitude towards unplanned, mostly informal, provision fluctuated between toleration of such provisons and desire to demolish them. The toleration of the unplanned facilities strongly reflects the absence of clarity of rules, the shortages of resources and the lack of alternatives in addition to the desire to make profits out of legalising these informalities, Moreover, corruption can not be excluded as a reason for such attitudes. In terms of informal ones despite that these were ignored, and possibly tolerated, for long period of time, officials tend usually to view these provisons as merely breaches of law, not only when alternatives were available, but also when no alternatives are there.

Private sector participation was profit-motivated while civil society's stemmed mainly from a desire to improve local facilities. However, the roles of both market and civil society were strongly constrained by the official perceptions and attitudes towards such roles.

Above all, the differences and conflicts of values among the different actors involved in governance process was also seen as a main obstacle to achieve urban development. Where some embraced provison at city level, others favoured profit-motivated provision.

Corruption through personal connection also affected values for provision. Such conflicts occured not only between the different sectors but also within the same sector. The conflict of perceptions and values in the provsion process was also found by other scholars focusing on urban governanace in Middle Eastern countries[133].

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided the core findings of this research. It started with reflecting on the impact of the provision of local facilities on social sustainability in the case study neighbourhoods discussed in chapter 7. It restated that the five aspects of social sustainability were not enhanced properly by the provision of local facilities in the case study neighbourhoods, linking this to the actual governance process for this provision. The chapter then reflected on the significance of the governance process to achieving sustainability and stressed that achieving social sustainability cannot be discussed separately from the governance process. It reflected on the governance process for providing local facilities and how the dominating role of the state was unable to provide local facilities with a positive impact on social sustainability. And similarly the market role, despite the market provision being in general associated with better positive impact on social sustainability. It also showed that the civil society role was associated with the most positive impact, though this was too limited. The chapter then reflected on the national context of Syria, showing that the problems of governance for providing local facilities has its origins in the national urban governance in Syria. It also shows that despite the difference in context between Syria and other countries there are still a number of issues and problems that are shared.

[133] See for example Dorman's (2007) research on informal settlements in Egypt, and ElKak's (2000) research on informal settlements in Lebanon.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 9 contains the final outputs expected from this research on examining the impact of local facilities on neighbourhoods' social sustainability and understanding the relevance to social sustainability of the governance process of providing local facilities, and provides suggestions and recommendations on potential improvement of the governance process to achieve social sustainability. It does so, firstly, by answering the main research questions based on the main findings from the literature review and the analysis of the case study neighbourhoods in Aleppo within the wider context of Syria; secondly, by identifying potential for further development in Syria; thirdly, by stating the contribution of the research; and, finally, by providing agendas for further research.

9.2 Answering the main research questions

This section provides the conclusion of the research through reviewing the main research questions and sub questions and presenting answers for them based on the findings of the research[134].

The first research question was:

How can local facilities contribute to neighbourhood social sustainability? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability?

- *What have been the main theories and approaches towards sustainable development?*
- *What is the meaning of urban social sustainability?*
- *What are the key principles of a sustainable neighbourhood?*
- *What is the importance of local facilities to neighbourhood social sustainability?*

[134] Findings from the research is discussed in Hajjar (2013) and Hajjar and Smith (2013).

- *What analytical framework can be proposed to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability?*

The research started with a literature review on sustainability and sustainable urban development in order to define the issues related to neighbourhood sustainability and to the contribution of local facilities to sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

The literature review showed that the concept of sustainability is vague and broad, it considers all aspects of life under three main categories including economic, environmental and social aspects. The multiple aspects of sustainability thus make it difficult to reach a clear definition. It also appears through the literature that different approaches to understanding sustainable development are based on giving different consideration to the different aspects, and that these approaches also differ between developed and developing countries. The research thus understood that sustainable development is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary problem of significant complexity, and that approaching sustainable development will require considering all the different dimensions and not only part of them as issues related to one aspect of sustainability will overlap with issues from the other aspects. Social sustainability is one the three main components of sustainable development; it is concerned mainly with social equity, which is considered to be of great importance in the brown agenda for sustainable development (in developing countries).

The literature also showed that approaching sustainable urban development could be done at different levels: the global level, the country level, the city level, the neighbourhood level and the individual building level. Local facilities are one of the component of neighbourhood sustainability, as high quality accessible facilities would foster self-sufficiency and contribute to achieving social, environmental and economic sustainability at the neighbourhood level. This research focused on the contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood social sustainability. Based on understanding social sustainability as social equity and sustainability of community, this research defined five main potential impacts of local facilities on social sustainability as the impacts on: accessibility and usage, travel mode, social interaction, safety and security, and sense of place. These five

potential impacts were examined to analyse the contribution of local facilities to social sustainability in Syrian residential neighbourhoods, taking into account the contexts within which the neighbourhoods are sited.

Understanding the relationship between sustainable development and governance process in general and between the impact of local facilities on social sustainability and the governance process of the provision of these facilities, in particular, was the subject of the second question.

What have been the recent theories of and approaches towards the implication of governance process for sustainable development? And what might constitute an analytical framework to analyse the implication of governance process for the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods?

- *What are the meanings of governance? And what are the current governance theories in relation to urban development?*
- *What is the relationship between governance and sustainable development and service delivery?*
- *What are the current approaches to understanding and analysing urban governance processes?*
- *What can constitute a framework to analyse the governance process of delivering local facilities?*

To answer this question, the research undertook a literature review on the importance of the relationship between governance, urban development and sustainability. It discussed the meaning of governance and the importance of governance to urban development, and finally analysed different approaches to analysing the urban governance process.

This literature revealed that understanding the governance process is of great importance to achieving sustainable urban development and service delivery. It also showed that meanings and definitions of governance have varied among the different scholars, but at the same time consensus was found that the focus of governance is on the relationship between government and nongovernmental forces. The literature was full of concepts on

approaches to analyse elements of governance process for urban development and to recognize the structuring forces affecting them. It showed a wide consensus that a comprehensive approach to understanding governance process can be achieved through analysing stakeholders involved in the governance process and how these are influenced by wider structural factors. Based on this concept a framework was developed to be used in this research to analyse the process of delivering local facilities in Syrian neighbourhoods within the macro economic and political context of Syria.

The framework is focused on six main aspects which are grouped in two categories:

(i)The **stakeholders**, which include: actors who are responsible for the provision of local facilities, *roles* they play in the process and the *relationships* among those actors

(ii) The **institutional factors**, which include: the *rules*: planning laws and legislation that control the process, the *resources* that flow to implement the facilities, and the *rationalities* of actors that define their practices in the provision process.

Through answering the first two main questions, the research developed two frameworks to analyse the impact of local facilities on neighbourhood social sustainability as both a product and a process, based on issues defined above. These frameworks were used to collect and analyse data to answer the rest of the research questions.

The third main question of the research asked:

What is the current governance process that produces local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Aleppo?

- *What is the political-economic context of Syria in relation to urban development and provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods?*
- *Who are the actors involved in the provision process? What are the roles of these actors? And what are the relationships among them?*
- *What are the rules controlling the process? What resources flow in this process? And what are the rationalities that dominate the process?*

In chapter 5 the research shed light on the context of urban development in Syria, while in chapter 6 the research analysed in depth the governance process of delivering local facilities in three case study neighbourhoods in Aleppo/Syria.

The state had the main role in leading development in Syria while both the market and civil society were marginalised. It also showed that the few economic reforms and the attempts to promote a larger role for the private sector and civil society were not successful; these new approaches were considered as unequal partnerships between the state and other sectors, as the state dominated the governance process.

In urban planning, it was shown that until recently the governance process applied in managing urban development in Syria was based on the command and control paradigm. New approaches to decentralization and involving the private and community sectors and civil society in urban development were launched recently in central and local government institutions in order to improve economic and urban development.

Stakeholders

In terms of providing local facilities in residential neighbourhoods, it was the 'state as a provider' approach through its very dependence on state management of resources, which affected the formal delivery of local facilities. The dominant actor was the public sector, which initiated, designed and implemented residential neighbourhoods. At the local level, the municipality was to supervise the governance activities for providing local facilities, make decisions and then implement them along with other public directorates related to the different facilities. The market was initially excluded from the formal provision process in most cases, its participation being limited to running some publicly provided facilities, mainly shopping. Civil society had low participation in decision making with their role limited to participating in the 30 days consultation period. Community representation was undertaken by Residents Committees (RCs), Neighbourhood Committees (NC) and *Mokhtars*, who were appointed by the government.

Analysis of the three case study neighbourhoods showed that, as a provider, the state could not provide all planned facilities in appropriate time with the housing. In addition, the public provision was of poor quality in general. In many cases, it was more directed

to delivering facilities at the city level rather than the local level, and some local facilities were changed to serve at the city level. The state, also shared responsibility for the increase in density in residential neighbourhoods than originally planned, which in turn increased the population in the catchments of local facilities.

In the recent period, since the mid-2000s, the market was given a bigger formal role as a provider through providing some planned facilities. However, the state retained an important role in controlling private sector participation. In terms of planned facilities, public-private participation was faster in providing local facilities than when provided by the public sector, though, these have come too late in the case study areas. However, the most important role of the market were undertaken through the unplanned provision of local facilities, which was undertaken formally through obtaining formal permission from the government or informally, were no permission was obtained. Such unplanned private provision contributed a large number of local facilities in two of the case study areas.

Civil society had limited room in the formal provision process and decision making. Its role as a provider was limited to developing some facilities mainly through participation of households and/or charity donors in delivering religious facilities and charity services, and through participation of RCs, NCs and residents in complaining to speed up the process of provision in some cases, and finally through academics and professionals who recently worked on developing a new set of basic standards. In terms of community representation, this was undertaken by RCs, NCs and *Mokhtars* with residents not being aware of the presence and/or the role of these representatives.

Relationships among the different actors were characterized by poor information sharing among actors within the same sector and also among actors from different sectors. Moreover, elements of corruption were occasionally revealed in the relationship between the public and private sectors, while equal relationships between the different actors were seen to be limited to the theoretical governance process rather than one actually practised.

Institutional factors

In terms of **rules**, the governance process was characterized by centralisation in decision making along with rigid, unclear, contradictory and inflexible laws and regulations which

affected decision making and financial matters. The economic reform and the intention to provide more space for the private and civil society sectors to participate, as addressed in the FYP and the sustainability agenda, were proved to be not very effective which questioned the real willingness of the state to allow such a wider role for the civil society and private sectors. The planning standards were based on western standards rather than local experience. The standards were not updated for long periods. Moreover, these standards were not strictly applied to planning residential neighbourhoods. The basic standards of 1980 did not pay attention to sustainability while newer standards still did not clearly address sustainability and had still not formally been issued by 2010. Planning law defining the implementation process was not clear. Conflict caused by ambiguity of some planning laws and unclear definitions of responsibilities allowed for poor enforcement of the law and poor implementation of the basic standards. Laws licensing change of use did not take properly into consideration local needs and frequently encouraged change of use from residential to other facilities. Limited action was taken to prevent breaches of these laws where a large number of facilities were developed informally in the case study areas, especially when the law prevented change of use. Public participation defined in the in the planning laws was inefficient. Moreover, the opinion of community representatives was often ignored, despite the wide role granted to them in the local administrative law 15. Bureaucracy and long routine procedures were seen to have dominated the provision process undertaken by all actors (public, private and civil society). Moreover, the poor consideration of sustainability in the planning laws has made rules governing the provision process unable to help in achieving sustainability.

In terms of **resources,** the shortages in human and fiscal resources, were seen as hindrances to appropriate provision of local facilities. Local governmental bodies had tight budgets, which had to come from the central government, for local facilities. The fiscal resources of the municipality was slightly improved by the 2001 reforms which also provided direct funding to local facilities through permitting private sector participation in providing planned facilities. The private sector was seen also as a main source of funds for unplanned facilities by means of change of use. Civil society provided fund for providing some of the local facilities. Provision of religious buildings was the most affected by funds from charitable bodies and organizations. A few other facilities

also benefited for fund from civil society, like a few green spaces which were initiated with funds from housing associations and national organizations. However, these varied between the three case studies.

In terms of **rationalities,** the emphasis on different values – value to the locality of facilities, serving at city level, influence of different socio-economic conditions, values – varied between actors. Policy makers emphasize the value for the locality through developing minimum standards, while planners and developers from both public and private sectors give less emphasis to the this value. Public providers focus more on providing facilities at the city level than at the local levels. Public providers emphasize, in some cases, the exchange value of their provision while private providers were usually concerned with providing facilities based on demand rather than local needs. The civil society motivation for providing some of the local facilities was of a business person motivation rather than of a welfare organization, even though in general provision by civil society emphasised the locality value and charitable value. In addition, improving local facilities in the case study areas was generally focused on quantity rather than quality. Differences in rationalities among the providers from the different sectors, accompanied by unclear definitions of responsibilities and unclear understanding of planning standards and locality value of local facilities, and the attitude of the different actors to blame others for the poor provision, were evident in the governance process. Finally, awareness of the potential contribution of local facilities to neighbourhood sustainability was seen to be lacking from all actors' rationalities.

The governance process, thus, was hampered by many factors related to all components of the governance process. Therefore, urban development in Aleppo, Syria, continued in a disorganized and semi-random pattern, led by the inability of the government to plan and implement basic local facilities in response to urban growth, and to manage and organize the private sector and civil society participation. The state ended up responding to the day-by-day conditions rather than applying a well-structured development plan. This resulted in the poor condition of local facilities and consequently contributed to the poor impact of these on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The impact of the governance process on sustainability at the neighbourhood level was the subject of the fourth question:

How are local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria influencing social sustainability at the neighbourhood level?

- *What is the current situation of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods in Syria?*
- *How are these facilities contributing to achieving objectives of social sustainability, in relation to local facilities, within residential neighbourhoods: accessibility, travel mode, social interaction, safety and security and sense of place?*

The question is focused on the impact of the current situation of local facilities on neighbourhoods' social sustainability in terms of accessibility and usage, travel mode); social interaction; safety and security and sense of place.

The survey of local facilities in this research showed that existing local facilities were quite different from planned ones. Planned local facilities were only partially implemented while unplanned local facilities were provided, resulting in a new form of local facilities that significantly differed from basic standards and plans. In general the existing local facilities were seen to have a poor impact on social sustainability. The aspect of social sustainability that had the best positive impact from local facilities was accessibility, however, local facilities were not seen to be accessible by more than one third of the interviewees. Sense of place, social interaction and safety and security followed respectively. The latter three aspects were seen to be positively affected by local facilities by only less than half of interviewees.

On the other hand, although the neighbourhoods differ in many aspects - in terms of socio-economic conditions and in terms of actors involved in the development process - there was no significant difference regarding the impact of local facilities on social sustainability, with the exception of accessibility and usage of local facilities. In general, accessibility and usage of local facilities was evidently highest in Hanano, the lower-middle income neighbourhood, followed by Hamdanya, the middle income neighbourhood, followed by Halab-AlJaddeda, the upper-middle income neighbourhood. Similarly, the positive impact of local facilities on social interaction and safety and security was slightly higher in Hanano than in the Hamdanya, which again was higher

than in the Halab-AlJadeeda. In contrast, the positive impact of local facilities on sense of place was slightly higher Halab-AlJadeeda than in the other two neighbourhoods.

In addition, local facilities significantly differed in their impact on social sustainability. Religious buildings were the local facility with the best impact on social sustainability in terms of accessibility and usage, social interaction and sense of place; they came second in terms of impact on safety and security, which was best affected by local shops. The local shops came second in terms of positive impact on the aspects of accessibility and usage, social interaction, and sense of place; however, when taking into account that some of the residents who used local shops said that they do so for only part of their main shopping, then local shops will come third only. The rest of the facilities varied in their impact on social sustainability, with health facilities having the lowest positive impact in terms of accessibility and usage, social interaction and sense of place.

Moreover, some of the local facilities were associated not only with a low positive impact but also with a negative impact. This was revealed mainly with regard to the impact of some of the recreational facilities and local shops on the aspects of safety and security and social interaction.

The positive impact on local facilities in many cases resulted from unplanned facilities that were formally or informally provided through participation of the private sector or civil society. Many of these facilities were threatened with being removed. On the other hand, publicly provided local facilities were seen to have the weakest positive impact.

The relationship between the governance process of providing local facilities and the impact of these facilities son social sustainability is the subject of the fifth question.

How is governance process over delivering local facilities contributing to neighbourhood social sustainability in Syria?

To answer this question the research draws together findings on the impact of local facilities on sustainability with findings on the governance process, to reach the conclusion that poor governance process of providing local facilities was hampering the governance process of providing local facilities that are capable of promoting

sustainability at the neighbourhood level, while better forms of governance resulted in local facilities that had a better impact on social sustainability. The research findings thus support the concept in the literature that good governance is a main component of sustainability.

The positive impact was mainly associated with the proximity of local facilities that were of good quality. While, the absence and delay of provision of some facilities, the inadequacy, the poor quality of other facilities and poor management and unaffordability were seen to reduce the positive impact of these local facilities on social sustainability. Moreover issues like poor safety and security, poor maintenance and management, poor visual appearance, noise and lack of appropriate parking places for users of these facilities were seen negatively to affect social sustainability. This was exacerbated by the view that the services provided in some facilities and the users of some facilities were unwelcome. These issues could be mainly attributed to the governance process over the provision of these facilities. Thus, the impact of the local facilities on neighbourhood sustainability was clearly the product of the governance processes undertaken by the different actors.

Therefore, improvement of the governance process of delivering local facilities is a must if social sustainability at the neighbourhood level is to be improved. Ways to improve the governance process are discussed in the final question.

9.3 The way forward for Syria

How can the governance process of delivering local facilities be improved? What obstacles should be overcome and how? What potentials are there and how can these be strengthened?

The final objective of this research is to identify recommendations that could be made to achieve changes in the governance of providing local facilities in residential neighbourhoods, with a view to improving the impact of these facilities on sustainability at the neighbourhood level. Analysis of the literature revealed the importance of good governance to sustainable development in general. Analysis of the national context of urban development in Syria emphasised that reaching long-term improvement will entail

a change in the governance processes at the national level including the political economy and the planning system. The analysis of the governance process of delivering local facilities along with the implication of this governance process for social sustainability revealed the important relevance of good governance to providing local facilities and consequently to social sustainability at the neighbourhood level, which is the basic platform to meet the main research aim. The case studies showed that for many reasons, basic standards and physical plans were not properly implemented, and that in many cases the laws and regulations that could have improved the governance process and consequently sustainability were not being implemented. Thus, the research strongly showed that the governance process is a vital component of achieving sustainable urban development at the neighbourhood level. It stressed the importance of understanding that it is not only about making policies, the problem is ensuring implementation of these policies.

In terms of **stakeholders:**

The research findings from the case study neighbourhoods showed the need for a wider form of governance that includes a larger range of stakeholders. This has been stressed by a number of authors in the literature on urban governance in both developed and developing countries in general (e.g. Healey 2007, Carley *et al* 2001) and by other scholars who worked on urban governance in Syria in particular (McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009). It showed a potential way forward if private and community sectors are given a stronger role to participate within a comprehensive and flexible system. In order to do this, the public sector should be more open to accepting and responding to the participation of the private and community sectors. The relationship between these actors should be strong and based on respect and trust.

This will also involve strengthening both the private and community sectors. The private sector role has great potential to improve the governance process, especially small local businesses. The research showed an important role of the operating formal and informal market in providing local facilities; in most cases market provision was undertaken through providing unplanned facilities (shops, nurseries, etc.). Thus, the research emphasized the need to understand the characteristics of these formal and informal

markets in order to let them work. The case studies showed the great potential of the private sector if it is given more access to involvement in the provision of local facilities in an accountable and transparent form of relationships with the government and the community sector.

Daniels (2004 p 509) argued that, in developing countries where the informal sector is a vital actor in development, it is important to consider the economy as an "entity rather than divided between formal and informal" and to recognize informal provision as part of the solution rather than as a problem. He warned that attempts to reducing the size of informal economies, albeit legitimate, will be made at the risk of losing other benefits from the informal sector. Thus, it might be more tangible and beneficial to provide a 'supportive environment' that enables both to function properly. Building on Daniels (2004), the perception of informal development by public officials as being illegal and abnormal must be reconsidered to account for their benefits for the provision of local facilities. Efforts should be made to engage with the informal private sector. This would be achieved through more refined regulation in some cases and control of market activities to ensure the delivery of certain standards; this could involve the residents and their representatives to guarantee that private provision will respond to people's needs. At the same time, care should be taken that these will not turn into over-regulation that could stop the market from working or allow opportunities for corruption. It is, thus, important to take account of the general dilemma between trying to have stronger regulations and trying to free up the system more to respond through private or community initiative. In addition, there is a need to factor in the 'economics' of service provision – it is easier to make things happen in retail because that is a viable economic activity, but it is more difficult with public open space or community centres because these do not bring the provider return on their investment.

Moreover, it is important to overcome negative effects of such informal provision and ensure that unplanned, formal and informal, provision is harnessed to benefit the provision process of local facilities.

Similarly, the strengthening of the community organisations was seen to be essential. Community organisations should build the capacity to participate with the private sector

and public sector in the governance process. The case studies showed a wide gap between the community and its representatives, and between the community and the private and public providers of local facilities. At the same time, they showed a potential for a successful role of the community in providing local facilities.

The empowerment of the community sector should also include empowering community sector representatives (De Graaf 2008, McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009 and Hasan and McWilliams 2014) e.g. the NC and RC. Connelly *et al* (2013) argued that community representation should cover all groups in the community, and not only those who usually engage in such activities, and it should consider the diverse forms of representation practices including informal ones; both formal and informal community views should be heard and should not be 'filtered' through 'disciplinary boundaries'; moreover, representation should be about 'meaning making' rather than simply 'having a voice'. In addition, Hasan and McWilliams (2014 based on Burns et al 2004) differentiated between consultation and participation. Connelly *et al* (2013) also added that practices of engaging of community should be ongoing and not limited to formal procedures in order to reflect the ongoing practices of representation and thus to fully understand the needs of the community. Thus, this research suggests that the community sector should have a role in managing the local facilities and deciding on services and activities available in these facilities. The residents should be more informed of the local facilities within their neighbourhood and of mechanisms to participate in the governance process for providing these facilities. The community sector should participate in the early planning (McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009, Hasan and McWilliams 2014) and implementation of local facilities and in decision making on types of facilities, locations, timescale for provision, and also decisions over uses of land within their neighbourhoods and changes of use. Such practices should be ongoing rather than limited to certain period of time. This can be achieved through giving wider responsibilities and power to communities' representatives to manage local issues, and better responsiveness from the government to these representatives, improving mechanisms of their involvement through better sharing of information with government, the private sector and residents. The empowering of these representatives should also involve electing rather than appointing the members of

these committees, and better resident awareness of the committees' roles; it could also involve allocating funds to be managed directly by them.

In addition to all these, empowering both private and civil society sector would involve building trust between them and the state (McAuslan 2008, Hasan 2012), which would entail strengthening the role of local governments as a link between the state and other society organizations. Strengthening the role of local government requires decentralization of activities of the central government with regard to decision making and financing (De Graaf 2008, McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009). This would also require that information should be available and shared between the different public providers along with the private sector and community sector, and would involve clear definitions of rights and duties to preempt opportunities for corruption.

In addition to the need to achieve better collaboration between the three main actors, there was a visible need for clear definitions of their roles and responsibilities. At the same time, there was also an essential need to have a body responsible for facilitating communication between the different actors within the governance process and for monitoring the development of local facilities in the neighbourhoods in response to people's needs. The NCs and local services directorates have the potential to undertake such a role through working with communities.

Institutional factors

Empowering society organizations and enhancing their relationships should be accompanied by enhancement of institutional factors to support such changes.

Rules

With regard to rules for the governance process, the research showed in agreement with (De Graaf 2008, Haddad 2009, Alberti and Sayed 2007), that a decentralised decision-making process will be essential to enhance the governance process in Syria. Thus, planning, implementing and changing the use of local facilities could be undertaken through participation of the three main actors (the state, the market and civil society) and not only through the public sector or the public sector and the private sector. Planning standards should be rewritten to be clear, comprehensive and flexible. They should define

clearly the meanings of basic standards so no ambiguity can result in preventing the development of local facilities through misunderstanding of these standards. At the same time, preparation of master and detailed plans and designation of the final form of local facilities should be made in a way that acknowledges local needs. These should also be updated regularly to address new needs in residential neighbourhoods and to consider the potential impact of these local facilities on sustainability.

The case studies and the literature (e.g. McAuslan 2008) showed a great emphasis on improving planning laws and procedures and shifting from "descriptive planning" to "spatial planning". As McAuslan (2008 p 12) stated: plans should be more flexible "it should not specify what shall be developed on a specific site by a specific year in the future in a specific way but what is planned to be developed over the plan period using certain design criteria and policies. The details of any development would be determined closer to the time that the development was planned to commence". Planning laws and procedures to be clearer in terms of defining rights and responsibilities over providing local facilities. Planning laws should set clear measures needed to attain basic planning standards in terms of who, when and how should these facilities be provided.

These planning laws should also be accompanied by enforcement mechanisms to ensure their implementation and prevent poor application and breaches to these laws. Moreover, these enforcing mechanisms should include a supervision mechanism that is more reliable than the current complex one undertaken by the NC, municipality, governorate, MLAE and the Baath party branches, which has proved to be inefficient. More importantly, enforcement mechanisms should be complemented by other mechanisms that encourage the different stakeholders - mainly the private sector - to participate and thus achieve the implementation of the planning laws. In addition, "the policies would be required to be supported by market based information and evidence" (McAuslan 2008 p 12). The research shows that it is not only about designing plots to provide the local facilities but about ensuring the implementation of the designated plans in a proper time.

The research also showed the need for planning laws and procedures for changes of uses to give better consideration to local needs and should include the community sector in making decisions about these changes of use. Moreover, making decisions on application

to undertake development, or change of use, must be accompanied by an official guide to avoid possibilities of 'abuse of power' (McAuslan 2008), which could allow for crony-like relationship between the state officials and developers.

Finally, improvement to the laws should include reducing bureaucracy and long administrative procedures (McAuslan 2008, Alberti and Sayed 2007) in many cases but also increasing regulation in other cases. In particular improving the laws should allow wider participation of the different stakeholders to ensure better responsiveness to people's need.

Resources

Changes should be made to the centralization in distributing resources, and local resources should be available to be managed directly by the local government. Local resources should be available to the local service directorates and spending the finance should be well supervised (De Graaf 2006). Moreover, the allocation of these resources, and decisions on priorities in allocating the finance, should be involve the community sector. Attention should be paid to the possibility of benefitting from the private sector and organizing it to achieve local facilities that respond to local needs, rather than letting these be used without proper consideration of local needs. McAuslan (2008) suggested for example that private providers can put in infrastructure instead of the municipality as part of their planned development. Similarly, resources available from the civil society sector resources (especially charity organizations) should be benefited from. However, in such cases, it is important to avoid conflict between the state and other actors[135]. The literature on the context of Syria showed a great impact of resources available from the charity sector on providing certain types of local facilities; the same was also proved in the case study mainly regarding religious building provision. Such experience could be adapted and expanded to other types of facility. Benefitting from the private and civil society sectors' resources could be achieved through better participation of these actors and better consideration of the resources available from them. This will in turn require

[135] For example, the conflict between the state and housing associations and RCs over developing green spaces in Halab-AlJadeeda,

building trust with people who feel that they have very limited influence on urban development.

Rationalities

Rationalities towards the planning and implementation of local facilities appeared to be important to achieve the potential impact of these facilities on social sustainability.

The case studies showed a strong need to reach a consensus among the different actors over the general understanding of end product local facilities, how these are to be used within their local communities, and how can they contribute positively to sustainability. Local facilities should not only be considered for their functional value but should also be chosen so as to realise their potential to promote social sustainability at the neighbourhood level effectively. Features that distinguish each facility in its impact on the different aspects of social sustainability should be carefully considered. The importance of the local value of these facilities should be given higher consideration. Moreover, the perceptions of the different stakeholders need to be taken into account when providing local facilities:

- policy makers and planners who focus on setting basic standards to serve local residents;
- residents who live in the neighbourhood and depend on these facilities for their daily needs;
- actors from the public sector involved in the provision process who are usually focused on serving the city level rather than the local level;
- developers from the different sectors who emphasise the exchange value of local facilities (which were also found to have influenced planners' attitude, depending on land value);
- and charity organizations who were interested in the provision of certain types of charitable facilities.

Taking account of the perception and capacities of these different stakeholders will ensure reducing conflict over responsibilities and the attitude to blame others, and will also ensure better implementation of local facilities that respond better to local needs.

Finally, having outlined the above recommendation, it is important to stress that, within the political economic context of the dominance state in Syria, ensuring the implementation of these recommendation strongly rests upon the willingness and the capacity of the different stakeholders, especially the state, to achieve them. The research shows that up till 2010, despite international organizations having worked in Syria since the early 2000s to enhance the governance process and despite the 10th FYP explicitly requiring enhancement of the role of the market and civil society in urban development, only nominal enhancement was achieved in urban governance for the provision of local facilities in the case study neighbourhoods. Hasan and McWilliams (2014) pointed to the lack of 'political will' of the Syrian state to engage with real reform and the need to "promote cultural change among state organizations to accept partners in development decision-making, instead of the historical tradition of this process being exclusive to the state" (Hasan and McWilliams 2014 p 20).

It is, thus, valid to say that the present recommendations could be challenged by the poor capacity of the private and civil society sectors to participate, caused by the prolonged policy of the state to strongly control society organizations and exclude them from the formal governance process. Dawahare (2000) stressed that the political economy base in Syria, which is characterised by a strong predominance state influence on society, entails a strong will from the state to accept new reforms as economic reforms on their own are limited without accompanying political reforms. However, Haddad (2012) strongly doubted the willingness of the Syrian state to undertake real reforms to empower other actors (market and civil society). "It's true; this regime helped the private sector grow, but it will never tolerate a strong private sector, I am under your control when I am a twig in your hand but not when I become a palm tree" (Haddad 2012 quoting Syrian government official). The unrest which has taken place in Syria since 2012 and turned into a civil war, though it might seem remote from detailed urban governance practices, could be an indirect indication of the failure of nominal attempts to undertake political and economic reforms that could consequently enhance urban governance.

9.4 Key contribution of the research

This research has analysed the implications for neighbourhood sustainability of the governance process for the provision of local facilities. The analysis of the governance

process has been used before in analysing different fields of sustainable urban development. This research has suggested that it can also contribute to advancing theories of social sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

The research has expanded upon the definitions of sustainability and approaches to achieving sustainable neighbourhoods, and has developed and applied a framework for analysing social sustainability at the neighbourhood level resulting from the provision of local facilities. The framework has focused on five main aspects: accessibility and usage; travel mode; social interaction; safety and security, and sense of place. In addition, the research has expanded upon the approaches to analysing the governance process for urban development put forward by different scholars and devised an analytical framework to assess the governance process for delivering local facilities which combines analysis of two main categories: stakeholders and institutional factors.

The effectiveness of these frameworks was tested throughout the research in three case study areas. It is suggested here that the study of governance process is essential to understand how local facilities are provided in a given context and what impact this has on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level. This proved to be valuable in informing the relevance of governance activities to sustainability. Thus, this thesis supports the existing approach of governance to sustainable urban development. It maintains a view of governance as the relationship between the three main actors - the state, the market and civil society - rather than the dominance of one actor.

The thesis emphasises the need for good governance of planning and implementation of local facilities. It emphasises the importance of setting basic standards for local facilities drawing on the possible impact of these on sustainability. This could be achieved through better consideration of the views of different stakeholders, rather than through a command and control approach. In addition, it emphasises the need for better collaboration among the three main actors in the planning and implementation process. This demands reviewing the stakeholders and institutional factors affecting the governance process based on a locally contextualised approach. More importantly, it emphasises that the success of such an approach will depend on the real willingness and capacity of the state, as the main actor, to promote it.

In terms of contribution to **knowledge**, the research brings together the analysis of urban development policy and implementation in Syria through focusing on the governance process for delivering local facilities along with the impact of this provision on social sustainability thus it adds to knowledge in English literature, as well as furthering and expanding the literature currently available in Arabic. The research demonstrates how a very top-down state-dominated system performs very poorly in the Syrian context. This contributes to the available literature, on both developed and developing countries, on the importance of combining top-down approaches with bottom-up ones.

Another important contribution of this research is the in-depth quantitative and qualitative knowledge of the process in the case study areas. This research is based on a general understanding of urban governance process in Syria introduced by other scholars (e.g. De Graaf 2008, McAuslan 2008, Haddad 2009 and Hasan 2012). However, the main focus of this thesis was on urban governance in relation to the provision of local facilities in residential neighbourhoods. This research provides information on the processes in the case study neighbourhoods in a way that allowed the comparison between the case study neighbourhoods to be made. The results rely on information provided by the various actors involved in the process: the state, the market and civil society. The incorporation of the community and the private sector experience as a key source of data informing research is an element that contributes to the generation of governance process that is focused on all three main actors: state, market and civil society, rather than focusing only on the state as a main or sole actor. Moreover, the research provides a reflection of the detailed analysis of the case studies on the wider political economic context of Syria. Such analysis, despite seeming distant from high state policies, is doubtlessly an indirect implication of these policies and practices towards other society actors in general.

Moreover, the research provides in-depth quantitative and qualitative knowledge about the case study area prior to the unrest starting in 2011. It provides in-depth information about neighbourhoods of different socio-economic conditions. The research also provides a mapped survey of the facilities available in each neighbourhood. These areas have previously been the subject of partial quantitative surveys, focusing mainly on informal corner shops, within the municipality's approach to dealing with the illegal development.

The present research builds on that by providing information and maps on *all* types of local facilities provided in those neighbourhoods.

In addition, it provides in-depth qualitative knowledge of the impact of the various local facilities on social sustainability at the neighbourhood level in the three case study areas. The main data for this was gathered from interviews with residents. Thus, it is broadening the basis of evaluating social sustainability based on residents' views as a key source of data which contributes to the generation of sustainability criteria focusing on residents' views.

In terms of the contribution to **methods**, the overall strategy of the research adopts a two-pronged approach which links analysis of the governance process with the evaluation of the impact of these on sustainability at the neighbourhood level.

In terms of the governance process the research focused on understanding the detailed process of providing local facilities within the case study areas along with the wider context of surrounding urban development. To achieve this understanding, the research combined the use of quantitative data and qualitative data obtained from different sources. Some were secondary data, while others were primary data. The research approach thus allows for the wider socio-economic context to be considered while taking into account the relevance of detailed events. This research also focuses on civil society and the private sector, attempting to understand their participation in the governance process. It thereby sheds light on the role they played in this process. In terms of the impact on sustainability, the research focused on evaluating it from the point of view of residents. This was done through analysing residents' views in the case study neighbourhoods, for which data was collected through interviews with members of civil society.

9.5 Further research

This research is a first step towards improving neighbourhood social sustainability in Syria through provision of local facilities. During the research and through applying the analytical frameworks, some areas were identified as requiring further research:

First, further research is essential to apply, test and modify the analytical frameworks. For example, apply the frameworks in other places to test the applicability of this framework to other places.

The framework can be modified to include quantitative indicators of sustainability rather than focusing on qualitative criteria. This research has focused on the qualitative criteria due to limitation in data collection methods.

The frameworks can be modified, with regard to its sustainability part, to focus on other aspects of sustainability (for example environmental) at the neighbourhood level or even at other levels, which will help understand other aspects of sustainability as a result of the governance process and identify ways to improve them.

More quantitative and qualitative research is required to test the validity of the recommendation suggested.

More in-depth research is required to explore the quantity and quality of local facilities that would be considered to be of good impact on sustainability in order to improve the local facilities in Syrian neighbourhoods and to establish indicators for basic standards with regard to range of facilities, quantity, quality, catchments and locations.

More in-depth research is required to understand the governance process for providing safety routes and public transport and the impact of these on sustainability at the neighbourhood level. This issue was identified through the research and the need for more in-depth understanding emerged clearly in the research.

Finally, it is important to say that, during the research period, Syria was going through changes in terms of governance process initiated by international agencies like MAM and GTZ etc to move to a wider governance process on the one hand, while new policies for local facilities were to be issued by the Ministry of Local Administration, including changes to basic standards incorporating wider public participation in decision making. The research showed very limited application of these changes. The changes were seen to be still in progress with potential for improvement. Further research would have been required, once the changes and the new standards were implemented, into the

effectiveness of their implementation in improving sustainability at the neighbourhood level. Most importantly, the unrest currently taking place in Syria is having severe impacts on the Syrian political-economic context. Current governance process is changing - the current balance of power among the three main actors - the state, the market and civil society - and the institutional factors affecting them. In addition, the conditions of local facilities and the use of these within the case study neighbourhoods and other residential neighbourhoods in Syria are deeply affected by the ongoing unrest. Thus, carrying out an analysis similar to the one presented in this thesis is essential, once the unrest is finished, in order to develop understanding of possible changes in terms of both governance process over provision of local facilities and the impact of it on social sustainability.